THE MISSIONS AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN BELGIAN AFRICA 1876 - 1908

by

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ABSTRACT

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Christian missions held almost a monopoly on education in Belgian Africa until independence in 1960. The purpose of this study is to analyze the educational effort of the eighteen mission societies serving the Congo from the beginning of modern western penetration until annexation of King Leopold II's Congo Independent State by the Belgian Parliament, the first thirty years of sustained cultural contact.

While it has been common practice in secondary sources to speak of "missions" as though they represented a homogeneous group, the educational effort of the eighteen mission societies serving the Congo by 1908 was profoundly different as measured by enrollment, textbook production, curricula and duration of schooling available.

The nature and extent of educational development in Belgian Africa in this initial period resulted from the interaction of five phenomena; mission goals, methods and social policies and African attitudes and physical environmental factors. A content analysis of published missionary letters and diaries and governmental archives leads to several conclusions as to the relative weight and importance of these factors in educational development.

First, the importance of mission goals---narrowly religious---has been virtually overlooked as a crucial determinant of educational development. Despite the spread of the "social gospel" and "social

action" view of Christian responsibility in Europe and America, the vast majority of missionaries who went to the Congo were far more concerned with souls than social conditions. The "civilizing task" of the Christian missionaries did not involve a transit of civilization from contemporary Europe or America, but an attempt to return to a golden age when the Christian church served as the leader of both secular and religious life. Education was not an activity undertaken for its unique worth but simply a means of prostelization. Schools had value only insofar as they contributed to the task of obtaining converts and spreading the gospel. If there had been no tie between religious prostelization and education, there would have been few, if any, mission schools in the Congo.

Second, educational policy has been overrated as a determiner of educational development. While it is true that the type of educational organization and methods used were closely related to preconceived ideological conceptions, these concepts underwent modification after experience in the Congo. Frequently missionaries simply ignored policy guidance from their home committees because it would not work under central African conditions. Overtime home society policy was frequently restated to agree with practice. Thus, policy in many cases did not lead, it was led.

Third, the contribution of the African community has been vastly underrated, if not ignored, as a major determinant of the process of educational development. The surprising shift within a generation of Congolese attitudes toward mission schools from initial indifference and hostility to curiosity and enthusiasm, particularly when they

became aware of the economic value of literacy, was a crucial factor in molding the nature of educational development.

Fourth, practical limitations associated with environmental factors such as the level of economic development, technical knowledge and public health affected educational development by placing a ceiling on the possibilities for educational expansion and the maintenance of standards.

While preconceived policies and their resultant mission methods certainly played a contributory role and African environmental factors placed an absolute limit on possibilities, the crucial factors in educational development in Belgian Africa were mission goals with their emphasis upon conversions and continual spread of the gospel combined with African attitudes toward education which quickly became expressed in mounting demands for schools. The result was a vast overexpansion of low quality schools.

PREFACE

Historical concern with African education, when it has occurred, tends to be preoccupied with governmental policy statements or static descriptions of institutional organization. The predominant role of the missions in operating schools has been underplayed, while the crucial contributions of the African community and the dynamic nature of the process of institution building and educational development have been generally ignored.

This study is an attempt to examine historically these neglected phenomena in one region of sub-Sahara Africa. It is a comparative analysis of the educational activities and policies of eighteen separate mission societies in Belgian Africa and an explanation of the factors responsible for the nature and direction of mission educational growth. The period chosen is fror the beginning of modern western penetration into the Congo until the annexation of King Leopold II's Congo Independent State by the Belgian Parliament--- the first thirty years of sustained cultural contact.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE ii

LIST OF TABLES vii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS viii

ABBREVIATIONS ix

Chapter

I. THE MISSIONS AND CENTRAL AFRICA 1

A. Missionary Interest in Central Africa 3
B. The Missions and the "Civilizing Task". 8
C. Mission Goals and Education 14
D. Missionary Occupation of the Congo. 15
1. Missionary Situation in Central Africa 1876 15
2. First Plans to Enter the Congo. 19
3. Lateness of Cultural Contact with Central Africa 23
4. Importance to Missions of Stanley's Exploration. 25
5. Entry of Missionaries to the Congo. 26
E. Mission Rivalry 31
F. Importance of Missions in Belgian Colonial Education. 34
G. Scope and Limitations of the Study. 37

II. MISSION EDUCATIONAL EFFORT: THE SCHOOLS IN OPERATION 44

A. Enrollment. 44
B. Textbooks 51
C. Curriculum. 67
1. Central Station Primary Schools 67
a. Oral Religious Instruction. 68
b. The Two R's Plus. 76
c. The Three R's Plus. 87
2. Village Schools 95
3. Advanced Training Schools 100
4. Girls' Education. 112
5. Vocational Education. 116
D. Duration of Schooling 123
E. Three Groupings 127

Chapter		Page
III.	EDUCATION AND MISSION GOALS	131
	A. The Role of the School in Evangelization	133
	1. Religious Necessity	133
	2. Selection and Training of Religious Assistants	138
	3. Attracting Potential Converts	144
	4. Planned Moral Change	157
	5. Public Relations	161
	6. Mission Rivalry and Educational Effort	164
	7. Mission Financing and Vocational Education	179
	a. The Gospel of Work	179
	b. The Goals of Vocational Education	182
	B. Educational Results of Mission Goals	200
IV.	EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND MISSION POLICIES	203
	A. Educational Organization and Mission Methods	203
	1. Apostolic Method	204
	2. Hierarchical System of Schools	207
	a. Training Africans to Teach and Go Forth	207
	b. Balanced Educational Expansion	208
	c. Planned Educational Selection	209
	3. Central Station Development	209
	B. Education and Socio-Political Policy	210
	1. The Nature of the New African Man	211
	2. Importance of Environment in Affecting Change	222
	3. The New Elite	231
	4. Sending Congolese Abroad	241
	5. Language Policy	250
	C. Education and Economic Policy	257
	D. Reasons for Methods and Policies Chosen	270
	1. Influence of Previous Experience	271
	2. Views on Congolese Capabilities	277
	3. Strong Organization and Leadership	290
V.	MISSION EDUCATION AND THE AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT	307
	A. Social Considerations	308
	1. African Reaction to Mission Education	308
	a. Initial Hostility and Indifference	309
	b. Developing African Curiosity	312
	c. African Enthusiasm for Education	316
	2. Reasons for African Reaction	321
	a. Gulf Between Generations	321
	b. Economic Advantages of Education	332
	c. Books as "Fetish"	334

Chapter — Page

B. Practical Problems. 336
1. Teacher Shortage 337
2. High Death Rate. 343
3. Lack of Material Resources 348
a. Lack of Funds 349
b. Food Shortages. 351
c. Textbook Shortage 354
d. Language Problems 357
e. Irregular Attendance. 364
C. Educational Results 374
1. Inadequate Supervision 375
2. Teaching Methods 381

VI. CONCLUSIONS. 387

A. Importance of the Early Period. 387
B. Heterogeneous Nature of Mission Education 388
C. Influence of Mission Goals. 389
D. The Process of Educational Development. 390
1. Educational Structure. 390
2. Curricula. 394
3. The Concept of "Adaptation". 396
4. Quality vs. Quantity 398
5. Educational Opportunity. 400
E. The Relation of Educational Policy and Practice 404

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 408

APPENDIX

A Printed Materials in Congo Languages 1876-1908. 430

B Printing Presses in the Congo, 1908. 434

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
II-I	Christian Missions in the Congo Independent State, October 1908	45-47
II-II	Mission Educational Statistics, October 1908	49-50
II-III	Text Production in Relation to Staff Available, 1908	58
II-IV	Comparative Rankings of Mission Societies in Terms of Educational Effort 1876-1908	128
A-I	Printed Materials in Congo Languages by School District and Subject, 1876-1908	431
A-II	Printed Materials in a Single Congo Language by School District	432
A-III	Printed Materials in Congo Languages Prepared by Christian Missionaries by Languages and Subject, 1876-1908	433
B-I	Printing Presses in the Congo, 1908	434

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	Mission Central Stations in the Upper Congo 1908.	in fine
2.	Mission Central Stations in the Lower Congo 1908.	435

ABBREVIATIONS

ABMU	American Baptist Missionary Union
AIA	*Association internationale d'Afrique*
AIC	*Association internationale du Congo*
APCM	American Presbyterian Congo Mission
ARSC	*Académie royale des science coloniales*
ARSOM	*Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer*
B.M.M.	*Baptist Missionary Magazine*
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CBM	Congo Balolo Mission
CEHC	*Comité d'études du Haut-Congo*
CIS	Congo Independant State
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
E.S.	*Echoes of Service*
FCMS	Foreign Christian Missionary Society
G.C.R.	Reports of the General Conference of Missionaries of the Protestant Societies Working in the Congo
GEM	Garenganze Evangelical Mission
HGF	Holy Ghost Fathers
IRCB	*Institut royal colonial belge*
LIM	Livingstone Inland Mission
MHF	Mill Hill Fathers
M.H.	*Missionary Herald*

M.I.	*Missionary Intelligencer*
Missions belges	*Missions belges de la Compagnie de Jésus*
R.B.	*Regions Beyond*
SHF	Sacred Heart Fathers
SMS	Swedish Missionary Society (*Svenska Missions-forbundet*)
WF	White Fathers (*Société des missionnaires d'Afrique*)
WIM	Westcott Inland Mission

CHAPTER I

THE MISSIONS AND CENTRAL AFRICA

Educational development in Belgian Africa was a direct result of the penetration of that area by Christian missionaries. When the first missionaries came to stay in the late 1870's, they found the Congo area a tabula rasa in terms of influence by western civilization. While the Congo estuary had been known to Europe since 1482 and European Catholic mission orders between the 15th and 18th centuries had established schools, built churches, sent selected Congolese to Europe for study and even installed an African bishop,[1] when European missionaries returned to the Congo in the last quarter of the 19th century they

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[1] From the 15th to 17th centuries Portuguese and Italian Catholic orders and in the 18th century French Jesuits established missions there. The most important of these, the Portuguese priests, first went to the capital of the Kingdom of the Kongo in 1491 at what is now San Salvador in Portuguese Angola near the Congo border. In the 18th century French Jesuits came for a brief period, but left after political difficulties. The Portuguese, too, began to leave the area to its own affairs in the 18th and 19th centuries and by the 1870's had abandoned their outposts and missions in the Congo estuary. See, J. Cuvelier, Documents sur une mission française au Kakongo, 1766-1776 (Bruxelles: IRCB, 1953); Auguste Roeykens, "Les Pères du Saint-Esprit et l'acceptance de la Mission au Congo au 19è siecle," Aequatoria, XIII, nos. 2 and 3, 1950, pp. 67-72, 93-100; Père F. Eucher, Le Congo, essai sur l'histoire religieuse de ce pays depuis sa découverte (1484) jusqu'à nos jours (Huys: Charpentier et Emond, 1894); J. Cuvelier and L. Jadin, L'Ancien Congo d'après les archives romaines, 1518-1640 (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1954); J. Cuvelier, L'Ancien royaume de Congo (Bruges: de Brouwer, 1946); Auguste Roeykens, "Les Capucins et les Missions Congolaises au XIXè siècle," Aequatoria, XI, no. 4, 1948, pp. 128-136.

found no traces of these schools and only a few relics indicating that such a long period of European contact had once taken place.[1]

Not only were there no western-style schools in the Congo in the early 1870's, but no state, European or African, exercised effective control over the Congo basin and its estuary.[2] With the exception of several small European trading posts manned by some two dozen Europeans[3] near the Congo River mouth, there were no Europeans in what would become the Congo Independent State (CIS), the political predecessor of the Belgian Congo. In addition little was known of the vast interior for, until 1877, no European had ever penetrated more than a hundred and fifty miles inland.

Thus, in the early 1870's even the Congo estuary as well as the interior basin were yet to make sustained contact with western civilization, including formal education. However, thirty years later there were almost 100 western-style mission primary schools and several thousand village schools serving some 46,000 pupils. Probably another 50,000 had passed through these schools for some period of time, if only a few months, during these three decades. The purpose of this chapter is to examine why and when missionaries came to the CIS.

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[1]Several young notables of the King's court spoke some Portuguese due to political dealings. Bentley wrote of his and Thomas Comber's arrival at San Salvador in 1879; "we found the people practically untouched by any foreign influence." W. Holman Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo (New York: Revell, 1900), I, p. 8.

[2]Charles de Lannoy, L'Organisation coloniale belge (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1913), p. 3.

[3]Alphonse J. Wauters, Histoire politique du Congo belge (Bruxelles: Van Flateren, 1911), p. 27.

MISSIONARY INTEREST IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Central Africa appealed to mission societies in the late 19th century for a variety of reasons. The mid-1870's marked the beginning of a period of greatly renewed interest in this area. Indeed, the 1870's have been described as a time of "unparalleled" missionary activity, especially in the Protestant church. In the 18th century Protestantism was uninterested in mission work, wrote an American theologian, some even thinking "evangelization of the world...to be absurb and fanatical."[1] But the new 19th century Evangelical Revival, particularly in England and America, caught public interest and support, as well as renewing missionary zeal and imagination. Also the mounting social liberalism of the late 19th century and the continuing concern with the horrors of the slave trade brought increased interest in central Africa and missionary work.

> Since the Evangelical revival and the rise of secular liberalism, the issues presented by tropical Africa to the British nation had been derived from the ethical constructs of these movements. The duty to free the slaves and to convert the heathen had been thrown into high relief by the statute of 1807 which declared the Slave Trade illegal, and throughout the century the Churches and anti-slavery societies were to keep up the call of duty...the chief African questions for the Victorians were ones of atonement and duty. The chains had to be struck from the African's neck. He must be converted. He would be civilized.[2]

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[1] T. J. Villers [Professor at the Rochester Theological Seminary], "The Relation of the Congo Free State to African Missions," B.M.M., February 1888, p. 37.

[2] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians: The Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent (New York: St. Martins, 1961), p. 27.

The 19th century penetration into the Congo basin by Protestant missionaries was part of these concerns. It became the duty of Christianity, particularly evangelical Protestant sects, to spread the gospel and thereby hasten the second coming of Christ for freedom would come through Christianity. Indeed, to the English Protestants Christianity and freedom were synonomous; one civilized by Christianizing. The purpose in going to central Africa was to bring freedom to a continent locked in moral and physical slavery by introducing Christianity. A spokesman for the most liberal and worldly Protestant mission society in the Congo, A. H. Baynes, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) London Committee, wrote their purpose was to open Africa "to Christian influence, truth and civilization; that by these the chains of the slave may be utterly broken and that in Africa...Light [religious conversion] may prove the true parent of LIBERTY..."[1]

In addition it was a widely held view in the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's that, if the Arabs were not pushed out of the eastern interior of Africa, the whole Congo basin to the Atlantic would become a "citadel of Islam."[2] While missionary and colonial visitors alike

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[1] M.H., April 1878, p. 93.

[2] Comment by Mgr. Camille Van Ronslé, Apostolic Prefect of the Belgian Congo, in preface to C. Van Straelen, Missions Catholiques et Protestantes au Congo (Bruxelles: Schepens, 1898), p. 9. See similar Catholic comments on the concern with Arab Islamic influence in Au Service du Congo, cinquante ans de missions aux Stanley Falls (Bruxelles: Procure de la Mission du Congo, 1947), p. 1; Van Ronslé to Rev. Superior, undated, from Stanley-Falls, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1890, pp. 313-315.

later viewed the Arabs as culturally superior to the African, describing them as "white negroes,"[1] the chiefs and notables being literate and well-informed,[2] nonetheless, both Protestant[3] and Catholic[4] missionaries labeled removal of the religious menace of Islam as one of the major missionary goals in the Congo.

From the Christian viewpoint it was undoubtedly fortuitous that the Arabs were involved in a pernicious type of trade which enlisted the antipathy of civilized society for they were religious protagonists as well. On that basis alone Christian missionaries would have liked to see the Arabs expelled from central Africa. George Grenfell, pioneer BMS missionary, wrote in 1885 to Baynes that "How far this Arab conquest is to push itself towards the Atlantic depends upon where European force steps in...Better let the Portuguese have the Congo than it should fall into the hands of Arab slave raiders."[5]

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[1]Black in color but "white they are in manners, dress and the most exquisite politeness," wrote Scheutist missionary and later Apostolic Prefect Camille Van Ronslé to his Superior, undated, from Stanley-Falls, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1890, p. 315.

[2]Viscount Mountmorres, The Congo Independent State. A Report on a Voyage of Inquiry (London: William and Norgate, 1906), p. 38.

[3]Alfred Stonelake, "Missionary Situation in the Congo," International Review of Missions, July 1919, p. 329 cites the religious menace of Islam as one of the major problems of Protestant missions in the Congo in 1918.

[4]"The Arabized blacks, knowing almost nothing of Islam, have taken of it only the fanaticism against the Christian religion." V. Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls fondée et dirigée par les prêtres du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus (Bruxelles: Procure de la Mission des Falls, 1904), p. 24.

[5]Grenfell to Baynes, IV/29/85 from Stanley-Pool, M.H., August 1885, p. 311.

The organizer of the other pioneer Protestant mission society, the Livingstone Inland Mission (LIM), wrote in a similar vein, "...unless the Arab slave-trade can be arrested, the continent cannot be civilized or colonized...or developed in any way, or above all, evangelized."[1]

While the CIS government conducted a successful anti-Arab military campaign in the 1890's, breaking the political influence of the Arabs in the eastern region,[2] the Islamic influence remained, kept alive both by individual Arab traders and by arabized Africans. Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the east around Stanleyville[3] and in the eastern Katanga report the continued existence of Koranic schools.[4]

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[1]Fanny E. Guiness, The New World of Central Africa (London: Hodder, 1890), p. 132.

[2]Sidney Langford Hinde, The Fall of the Congo Arabs (London: Methune, 1897).

[3]Arab influence extended as far west as Basoko at the confluence of the Aruwimi and Congo rivers. See Rev. John Howell at Bolobo, undated, M.H., August 1902, p. 374.

[4]HGF Superior, E. Callewaert from Kindu, undated, Messager du Saint Esprit, août 1908, p. 247. Callewaert estimated that as many as 95 percent of the population from Pontierville to Kindu were Arabized. He reported that "many villages have their school where the Koran is taught..." The SHF and BMS missionaries and visitors in the Stanleyville area also reported the continued existence of Koranic schools. See, Grenfell to Miss Hartland from Yakusu, III/10/96, quoted in George Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, Congo Missionary and Explorer (New York: Revell, 1909), p. 362; Grenfell to Baynes from Yakusu, undated, M.H., March 1899, p. 93; Jeanroy, p. 24; Mountmorres, p. 38. Mountmorres, speaking of Avakubi in the Ituri forest area of Oriental Province, wrote in 1903, "...in all the larger villages, Mohammedan schools are established..."

Thus, Protestant missionaries found the Congo basin afforded "the grandest opportunity for fresh missionary enterprise which the world has to offer today."[1] Here was a tabula rasa, an area untouched by western contact, particularly the pernicious moral influence of western traders. Experience with west-coast mission stations encouraged missionaries and their supporters to want to penetrate inland when possible "where the Gospel might be preached unhindered by the hostile influence of demoralising traders."[2] Livingstone's continual advice to missionaries "' to leave the unhealthy, fever-stricken, trade-cursed tribes of the coast' created a readiness" in Protestant missionaries "to embrace any favorable opportunity for work in inland regions."[3]

The spectacular accounts of the central interior of Africa by Livingstone, especially those surrounding his death in 1873 (e.g. by Henry Morton Stanley), stimulated tremendous enthusiasm in Britain to continue his missionary work.[4] News of British interest in turn encouraged activity on the part of American mission groups.[5]

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[1] B.M.M., November 1884, p. 406. The Committee on Africa of the American FCMS reported of Africa in 1899 that "There she lies a virgin continent for the trader, the husbandman and the missionary." See, FCMS Annual Report for 1898-1899, M.I., November 1899, p. 302. Similar remarks are made by the LIM founder in Guiness, p. 8.

[2] John Brown Myers, The Congo for Christ: The Story of the Congo Mission (New York: Revell, 1895), pp. 17-18.

[3] Myers, pp. 17-18.

[4] Ruth Slade, "L'Attitude des missions protestantes vis-à-vis des puissance européennes au Congo avant 1885," Bulletin de l'Institut royal colonial belge, XXV, 1954, p. 684. See also George Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, Commemorating Seventy-Five Years of Protestant Missions 1878-1953 (Leopoldville: La Librairie Evangelique au Congo, 1952), pp. 1-5.

[5] Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper, 1949), especially pp. 182-203.

Protestant missionaries were now no longer content to limit their efforts to freed slave colonies in African coastal areas, but instead were spurred to advance into the interior to get at the slave trade from its source of supply and to bring salvation and conversion to the numerous heathen.[1]

Catholic groups tended to be more preoccupied with halting the spread of Protestanism than doing pioneer work in saving the heathen or stopping the slave trade in Africa. In the 1870's a papal encyclical had instructed Catholic missionaries to follow the footsteps of the Protestants wherever they went and to harass and destroy their efforts. Thus, Catholic mission interest in central Africa came later, after the first Protestant groups were already established. Notable exceptions to the general lack of Catholic initiative were the White Fathers (WF), an order devoted exclusively to missionary work in Africa, founded by French Cardinal Lavigerie, organizer of the anti-slavery crusade on the continent, and the French Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF), who had long worked along the west African coast line.

THE MISSIONS AND THE "CIVILIZING TASK"

The interior of central Africa, besides being the source of the slave trade, was religiously interesting in that Protestants thought it to be heavily populated, the blackest in moral degradation and therefore most needful of Christianity.[2] Most Protestant

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[1]Ruth Slade, English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908) (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1959), pp. 23-25.

[2]The ABMU thought the Congo Valley had 49 million people, about the same population as the entire United States at that time. See, B.M.M., November 1884, p. 400. Similar estimates are found in R.B., October

missionaries would undoubtedly have accepted the description (if not the cause) of African civilization by a Catholic Brother of the Christian Schools when he wrote shortly after the period under study:

> No one is unaware how the populations of Central Africa have been disinherited of all civilization! They have lived for a number of unknown centuries under an ardent tropical sky, as if nothing existed outside of themselves, as if no other human being existed in the world, without ever asking if a superior way of living to theirs existed; without any ideal, without purpose for themselves or their posterity; unconscious of what had happened and what was happening in other countries; buried in a cruel and immoral paganism which sacrifices all to egoism and to satisfaction of the most ignoble passions.
>
> To transform these populations, to make of them races with pure mores, to instill in them religious sentiment, to have order reign there, to develop the love of work, that is what Belgium has undertaken to realize.[1]

Therefore, both the Catholic and Protestant missionaries agreed the African was in a state of inferior civilization to that required in the divine plan and saw it their duty to bring change.

But neither the Protestants nor the Catholics interpreted their mission civilisatrice in the Congo in a broad liberal sense. Christian missionaries, whatever the issues of social doctrine being debated at home, had goals and a view of the civilizing task which were very narrowly limited to religious concerns.

As the above quotation illustrates particularly in the last paragraph, the action prescribed for affecting change and introducing civilization was limited to moral and religious modifications including manual work and the necessary political condition for such a program,

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1878, p. 14; Bentley, II, p. 64; Annual Report of the Disciples of Christ Foreign Society, M.I., November 1896, p. 270; Grenfell in M.H., September 1882, p. 000.

[1]Brother Gabriel, Essai d'orientation de l'enseignement et de l'education au Congo (Anvers: Stockmans, 1914), p. 3.

public order. The vast majority of missionaries in the Congo simply had in mind religious conversion and the establishment of Christian communities centered around the practice of religious ideals. These mission goals did not involve a transit of modern material civilization from 19th century Europe or America, but rather represented a deliberate attempt to introduce a type of Christian civilization unattained and unattainable in 19th century western Europe or North America.

These religious goals of Christian missionaries did not specifically reject "modern" civilization, it was simply irrelevant.[1] Congo Protestant missionaries, like their Catholic counterparts, were generally unconcerned with material things unless they were a question of mission finance or health. To civilize was not to introduce improved technology, but to Christianize. Christianity was civilization. The material level of advancement did not matter, but would, if at all, be considered only after religious conversion. This is most clearly seen in their conception of an elite and their resistance to allowing Africans to live in urban areas and to enter the modern economic sector through wage employment (see Chapter IV).

Judging from actual activities in the Congo, Catholicism in central Africa meant establishing a religiously-based and directed community reminiscent of the Middle Ages in Europe and later periods in certain parts of Latin America, where the church spoke for both Caesar and God without competition from the spiritual descendants of

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[1] This obviously was an opposite view to the Social Gospel in American Protestantism of the late 19th century or continental Catholic Social Action, which found social improvement both relevant religiously and possible.

the heretic, Luther. The goal was to establish the Catholic Church in a monopolistic position religiously, controlling, as well, all aspects of African life. The purpose of the CIS, according to the interpretation of the Berlin Act by a leading Catholic spokesman, was neither European settlement nor commercial exploitation, but "civilization." But by "civilization" was meant Catholicism. There was no difference between the two concepts. True civilization was Catholicism and therefore the only agent of civilization was the Catholic Church.[1]

It must be remembered that Catholicism in general in this period was still influenced heavily by the Syllabus of Errors (1864) reaffirmed by the Vatican Council (1870) deriding the new social liberalism, especially in Belgium where Catholicism was particularly conservative. Programs of Catholic Social Action[2] were later adopted not out of conviction, but as political strategy to counter the mounting strength of socialism and the success of the growing anti-Catholic sentiments among the working urban population. Since Belgian Socialists were unconcerned with the Congo, being opposed to colonialism on principle, there was no export of socialist ideas to central Africa and therefore no need for Catholic Social Action to be exported to counter them. The civilizing task could be limited to the principal goal of the Church--implanting Catholicism.

While more recent, the Protestants too had a tradition from Geneva and New England where worldly matters were under the control of

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[1] Arthur Vermeersch (S.J.), La Question Congolaise (Bruxelles: Bulens, 1906), pp. 49-51; 80-81; 314-315.

[2] For example, the organization of separate Catholic labor unions and the sponsoring by the Catholic Party of social legislation, such as measures to improve working conditions.

ministerial precepts. There is no evidence that the great majority of Protestant missionaries in the Congo had abandoned the medieval dream of a society guided and led by the church, although their goals were less religiously monopolistic than those of the Catholics.[1]

Instead of social reform Protestant missionaries in the Congo saw the answer in the reemphasis of evangelism and the more careful following of the spiritual doctrines of the faith. While in the United States in the late 19th century, liberal Protestants discarded their preoccupation with personal sin and salvation in favor of social consciousness, in the Congo the viewpoint of the majority of Protestants remained uncompromising moralistic conservatism. They remained in the revivalist tradition, finding sin a sufficient explanation for social ills and individual salvation the principal remedy.

The narrowness of these goals in the Congo is somewhat striking considering the liberal ferment in Protestantism both in America and England in the latter part of the 19th century.[2] Perhaps the dichotomy is partly explained by the following three factors. First, the majority of Protestant sects with missions in the Congo were not those who represented the main trend of Protestantism in their home country. Of the American mission societies in the Congo, only the northern Baptists (ABMU) were part of the main block of American Protestant thought.[3] The Disciples of Christ (FCMS) in the United States "were

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[1]Most Protestant societies were willing in principle to coexist in the same region with Catholic missions, while the general policy of the latter was, if politically possible, to have Protestant missionaries expelled or prohibited from entering regions served by Catholic stations.

[2]For an examination of the repercussions in education of American Protestant thought see, R. Freeman Butts, The American Tradition in Religion and Education (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), Chapter V.

[3]May, especially pp. 182-234.

cut off by their rural constituencies from the first shocks of large-scale industrial crisis,"[1] while the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) was out of the mainstream of American Protestant religious outlook, and the Southern Presbyterians (APCM) were a regional off-shoot of the main denomination. Thus, all were little affected by the new social preoccupations of the major Protestant groups. Of the English Protestant societies with missions in the Congo again it was the BMS which was most representative of English evangelism. The LIM and its successor, the Congo Balolo Mission (CBM), were interdenominational efforts, organized and supported by a leading Protestant missionary family, while the Westcott Inland Mission (WIM) and Garenganze Evangelical Mission (GEM) were loosely-organized groups made up of English Plymouth Brethren, who not only were different in religious outlook from the major English Protestant groups, but as missionaries rejected organized efforts until forced to adopt them.

Second, while the Student Volunteer Movement[2] in the United States may have recruited for missionary service, as one historian put it, "the ablest men and women on the college campuses of the nation,"[3] Central Africa was not the first choice in geographical location for young Protestant missionaries, whatever their social doctrines. The better developed cultures of the Orient were found far more attractive than the primitive tribal societies of central Africa.

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[1] Ibid., p. x.

[2] Like the Social Gospel, which looked to cope with change on the domestic scene, so the Student Volunteer Movement was an international preoccupation of American Protestantism during the decades before and after the turn of the century.

[3] Winthrop S. Hudson, American Protestantism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 123.

Third, and probably most significant, was that no matter where these young men and women, recruited through the Student Volunteer Movement, went their central purpose was clearly stated in their initial motto, "the evangelization of the world in this generation."[1] Like Catholic Social Action, the Social Gospel appears not to have been part of the scheme for exportation.

MISSION GOALS AND EDUCATION

Educational effort must be viewed within the context of mission goals and the civilizing task. Had the Christian missions not seen education as contributing to Christianization there would have been few, if any, mission schools in the Congo. Perhaps one of the most distorted interpretations of mission education is to equate the provision of "non-religious" subjects (e.g. the three R's) with secular education. That is, to interpret the presence of such curriculuar offerings in mission schools as an indication that missionaries considered general worldly enlightenment and intellectual advance part of their primary tasks would be to misunderstand their educational policies. Since the goal of all Christian missions was conversions, no mission society operating in the Congo before 1908 conceived of the role of education as anything but a functional part of religious proselytization. Some stressed education more because they felt it was a good means of gaining converts. Any preparation of a secularly-oriented group was an after-thought induced by African demands for education or State desires. In both cases missions gave in to these

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[1] Ibid.

external pressures because to have ignored either would have challenged their ability to continue their principal religious programs.

The introduction of "western-type" schools was not meant as a means of transit of western civilization to central Africa, but to reflect and supplement the narrow religious goals of the various mission societies. This is most clearly seen in the fact that by "western-type" schools was simply meant the borrowing of a familiar structure. While the structure of the schools certainly imitated the then current general western-style pattern in the several European countries and the United States, their purpose and content in central Africa had little relation to the western world. Simply put the purpose of mission schools was to assist in obtaining converts. No secular subjects including reading in the Protestant case were introduced for their intrinsic worth or worldly function, but because for some reason the mission society thought (see Chapter III) that they would aid the religious objective.

MISSIONARY OCCUPATION OF THE CONGO

Missionary Situation in Central Africa 1876

Thus, by the mid-1870's Christian missionary interest in central Africa was high. Although the region which would become the Belgian Congo had no missions in 1876, there was already a great deal of missionary activity in peripheral areas. On the west coast, near the Congo estuary, Portuguese secular clergy were in Angola to the south and French HGF were established at Landana on the coast to the north. The French HGF were recent arrivals. In 1865 the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, the

Propaganda,[1] had conferred the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lower Congo, long abandoned by the Italian Capucians, on the French HGF.[2] The following year (March 1866) HGF missionaries went to Portuguese Angola with the intention of establishing themselves in San Salvador at the court of the old African Kingdom of the Kongo and then penetrating inland.[3] While this African Kingdom for years had been independent, the HGF learned that Portugal very recently had taken advantage of a succession dispute between the King's two sons to station a garrison there. The HGF, therefore, confined themselves to establishing missions at three coastal towns in Angola---Loanda, Mossamedes and Ambriz.[4]

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[1]The Propaganda is formed by a variable number of cardinals headed by a Cardinal Prefect. All are appointed by the Pope. This commission of Cardinals constitutes with its secretary the Congregation or, properly speaking, the pleniary assembly, whose functions involve the examining and regulating of policy matters pertaining to missions. An ordinary assembly to which the Cardinal Prefect, the secretary and several officials belong handles the daily business of the Propaganda. More important business, such as the creation of new missions, is regulated by the Congregation or Pleniary assembly of Cardinals.

[2]The mission given the HGF September 9, 1865, of the Prefecture of the Lower Congo included the area north to Cap St. Catherine, opposite Sao Tome Island, south to the Cunene River in the southern part of present Portuguese Angola and in the east to the Kasai River. Since the exact course of the Kasai River was unknown at this time, the Prefecture's eastern limits were quite vague. F. de Meuss and D. R. Steenberghen, Les Missions religieuses au Congo belge (Anvers: Editions Zaïre, 1947), p. 73 and (Baron) Léon Bethune, Les Missions Catholiques d'Afrique (Lille: Desclée de Brouwer, 1889), pp. 281-282.

[3]San Salvador, several miles south of the present Congo border, was "lost" to the CIS at the territorial negotiations resulting from the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885.

[4]Roeykens, "Les Pères du Saint-Esprit...", Aequatoria XIII, no. 3, 1950, pp. 93-95.

However, after many difficulties and only four years' residence, the French HGF suspended their work in Portuguese Angola because of opposition both from the local Portuguese government and from the Bishop of Loanda and his secular clergy. Enroute back to France in August 1870, the HGF's visited Boma on the Congo estuary and the coast just north to Loango,[1] with the idea of returning to begin work in this area. Three years later they established a mission at Landana (May 1873) between Boma and Loango, with the intention of penetrating toward the interior via the Congo River. To this end in July 1876, they bought land at Boma (which would become the first capital of the Belgian Congo) for use as a base mission station for upriver expansion, but actual establishment of the mission was delayed until May 1880 due to lack of human and material resources.[2]

Catholic mission societies were also active on the east African coast. An Apostolic Vicariate[3] of Central Africa had been established

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[1] Ibid., p. 93. Secular clergy owed allegiance to their "prince," while mission orders reported directly to the Vatican. The Portuguese claimed the Vatican, by sending mission orders, was interfering in Portuguese internal affairs. The Portuguese insisted that missionaries go through the King of Portugal as intermediary, rather than maintaining direct relations with Rome. See Slade, English-Speaking Missions..., p. 21.

[2] Marcel B. Storm, "Léopold II, les missions du Congo et la fondation du Seminaire africain de Louvain," Zaïre, VI, no. 1, janvier 1952, pp. 4-5.

[3] Normally, the Propaganda begins by erecting in non-evangelized areas a "Mission." The following stages are then: Apostolic Prefecture, Apostolic Vicariate and finally a Diocese. The independent "Mission" is headed by a Superior. When it becomes an Apostolic Prefecture it is governed by an Apostolic Prefect who is usually a priest without episcopal authority. The Apostolic Vicariate is governed by an Apostolic Vicar almost always with an episcopal title. For more details see Marcel B. Storme, Rapports du Père Planque, de Mgr. Lavigerie et de Mgr. Comboni sur l'Association internationale Africaine (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1957), Notes 1, pp. 15, 112.

by the Vatican in 1846 and included part of what became the Eastern Congo, although work before the 1870's centered on the eastern Sudan and was reduced to this area in 1868. Four years later this eastern region was conferred on the Missionary Institute of Verone (Italy) under the direction of Mgr. Daniel Comboni. Comboni thought of moving south following the Nile River to its source near Lake Nyanza Victoria and the Eastern Congo.[1] Also active on the east coast and desirous of going inland were the French HGF of the Apostolic Prefecture of Zanzibar, who in 1868 established a mission station at Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar. They talked of crossing central Africa to the Congo River mouth to meet their co-workers. No action was taken, however, for the same reasons which curtailed the development of the French HGF in the Congo mouth region, namely, lack of initiative and men, money and materiel.[2]

Ever since Cardinal Lavigerie established his White Father missionary order in Algeria in May 1867, he had announced that his main goal was evangelization of central Africa. But in 1876 his exact geographical interest there was still vague.[3] He did try to send a group of White Fathers south across the Sahara in 1876, but they were massacred by the Taurag.[4]

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[1]Auguste Roeykens, La Période Initiale de l'oeuvre Africaine de Léopold II. Nouvelles recherches et documents inedits (1875-1883) (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1957), pp. 59-60.

[2]Storme, "Léopold II, les missions...," Zaïre, VI, no. 1, 1952, p. 3.

[3]Jean Perraudin, "Le Cardinal Lavigerie et Léopold II," Zaïre, novembre-décembre, 1957, pp. 902-903. Peraudin finds no references to Africa of the Great Lakes area in Lavigerie's writings before 1877.

[4]F. Dellicour, "Mgr. Augouard et le Congo belge," Bulletin de l'Institut royal Congo belge, 1944, p. 10; Marcel B. Storme, Evangelisatiepogingen in de binnenlauden van Afrika gedurende de

The Protestants also dreamed of entering the central African interior. English Protestant groups had thought of the possibility of entering from the west coast via the Congo River and establishing "a chain of mission stations stretching across Africa,"[1] from the Congo River mouth to Zanzibar in order to stop the southward expansion of Islam.[2] The first attempt to establish a Protestant mission in the central African interior was undertaken by the Universities Mission to Central Africa under the impulse of David Livingstone in 1861-1862. While it was unsuccessful, it served as the basis for the establishment of a Protestant mission at Zanzibar. Livingstone's well-publicized death stimulated Protestant activity. The Free Church of Scotland went to Lake Nyasa; the Church Missionary Society to Uganda and the London Missionary Society to Lake Tanganyika. Various Protestant mission societies were settled along the West African coast, the nearest to central Africa being the BMS in the Cameroons and off-shore islands.[3]

First Plans to Enter Central Africa

No less interested in penetrating the interior of central Africa was an ambitious and energetic European monarch, Leopold II, King of

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19e eeuw (Bruxelles: IRCB, 1951), pp. 320-325.

[1]Slade, English-Speaking Missions..., pp. 32-33.

[2]This idea was first put forward by Ludwig Kraft, a missionary to East Africa in 1844. See Carpenter, p. 20.

[3]C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London: Butterworth, 1948); Storme, Evangelisatiepogingen in de binnenlauden van Afrika gedurende de 19e eeuw.

the Belgians. Feeling his talents and energies stifled by the smallness of his realm and the constitutional limitations of his Crown, Leopold II from his youth had dreamed of colonial empire for Belgium.[1] While first looking over prospects in Latin America and Asia, by 1876 he had turned his attentions to central Africa.

Specific action to enter central Africa began in 1876-1877. In September of 1876 Leopold II called a Geographic Conference in Brussels. Ostensibly, the Conference was to discuss ways of bringing about international cooperation in the exploration and occupation of the unclaimed and unexplored central African basin and to develop cooperative measures to halt the slave trade there. However, he invited not government representatives, but leading scientists and explorers from various European countries through correspondence with their national geographic societies.[2] While Belgian historians have characterized the Conference as non-political and similar to meetings of stamp collectors or statisticians[3] or the series of scientific

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[1]For his pre-Congo colonial interests, see Léon Le Febve de Vivy, Documents d'histoire précoloniale belge, 1861-1865 (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1955). The most extensively documented biography of Leopold II is that by Baron Louis de Lichtervelde, Léopold II (Bruxelles: Dewit, 1927) translated into English by Thomas H. Reed and H. Russell Reed as Leopold of the Belgians (New York, London: Century, 1929).

[2]Auguste Roeykens, Léopold II et la Conférence géographique de Bruxelles (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1956). See also the account by one of the members of the Belgian delegation, Emile de Laveleye, L'Afrique centrale et la Conférence géographique de Bruxelles (Bruxelles: Maquardt, 1877). The "official" view of the King is presented in the account by the Conference's secretary, Emile Banning, L'Afrique et la Conférence géographique de Bruxelles (Bruxelles: Maquardt, 1877). The official proceedings are available as Conférence géographique de Bruxelles (1876). Compte rendu (Bruxelles: Hayez, 1876).

[3]Pierre Daye, Léopold II (Paris: Fayard, 1934), p. 160.

meetings during the inter-war years concerning the North Pole,[1] the Brussels Geographic Conference marked Leopold's first public move to acquire central Africa as a colonial possession. At the conclusion of the Conference, Leopold II formed the Association Internationale Africaine (AIA) whose purpose was:

> ...to found scientific stations, observation and aid posts where all well-intentioned travelers, whatever their nationality, religious or scientific purpose, will find an equal access and the same protection. By this means the project hopes to efficiently contribute to the introduction of civilization in Africa, to the exploration of the continent and to the abolition of the slave trade.[2]

The Christian missions were also active. In early 1877 plans were made by the BMS to enter the central African interior possibly by way of the west coast and the Congo River.[3] The British eccentric philanthropist, Robert Arthington, was "firmly convinced that had Cameron passed on down the river from Nyangwe" he would have reached the rapids near the Congo mouth on the west coast. Thus, in May 1877, Arthington offered £1,000 to the BMS, if they would establish a mission in the Kingdom of the Kongo and from there attempt to penetrate inland. The BMS accepted the offer and began its appeal for money and missionaries, three weeks before announcement of Stanley's arrival at the Congo mouth.[4]

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[1] de Lichtervelde, Leopold of the Belgians, p. 126.

[2] Leopold's approach to the civilizing mission of the AIA is discussed by Father Auguste Roeykens in La dessein africain de Léopold II. Nouvelles recherches sur sa genèse et sa nature (1875-1876) (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1956), pp. 224-227. For an excellent early statement of Leopold's view of the missions' civilizing role, see, Baron Alphonse de Haulleville, "L'Oeuvre de la civilisation africaine," Revue générale, XLI, 1885, pp. 100-124.

[3] See text of letter from Arthington to the BMS Committee, V/14/77, reproduced in Bentley, I, p. 58.

[4] Ibid., I, pp. 60-61.

Despite the peripheral activity of Catholic mission orders, Catholic enthusiasm for inland penetration developed later mainly in response to Protestant activity. The Vatican in 1877 began to show some interest in the central African interior stimulated by the possibilities of using Leopold's newly-organized AIA as a vehicle for Catholicism and by fear of being outdone by the Protestants.

During 1877 the Propaganda requested from various heads of Catholic missions already in Africa an evaluation of the potential usefulness of the AIA to the Catholic apostolate.[1] The three replies which have so far been published,[2] from Mgr. Daniel Comboni, Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa, Father Augustus Plangue, Superior-General of the Society of African Missions of Lyon with operations on the Guinea Coast of West Africa and Cardinal Lavigerie, founder of the WF, all had much in common.[3] Despite passing allusions to the personal sympathy of Leopold II, all warned of the Protestant-Free Mason orientation of the AIA and its probable antagonism to Catholicism. All urged the Propaganda to take immediate action in order to outdistance the Protestants. Plangue wrote in May 1877:

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[1]Opinions differ as to when in 1877 and precisely why the Vatican asked for opinions on moving into Central Africa and to how many heads of mission orders the inquiry was sent. See Mgr. Baunard, La Cardinal Lavigerie (Paris: Poussielque, 1898), I, p. 537; Auguste Roeykens, La Baron Léon de Bethune au service de Léopold II. Conflit de l'Etat du Congo avec certaines companies commerciales belges (juillet-octobre 1892) (Bruxelles: ARSOM, 1964), p. 22, Note 1; Perraudin, Zaire, novembre-décembre 1957, p. 904; Storme, Rapports..., p. 24; review by Perraudin of Storme's Rapports... in Zaire, julliet 1957, p. 756.

[2]The texts are reproduced in Storme, Rapports.... The archives of the Vatican are not available on this period. The replies so far published have been taken from the archives of individual mission orders.

[3]The three Catholic heads of mission orders had all been on consultation in Rome in 1877.

> It seems to me the moment to send to these regions being opened up, some Catholic missionaries in order to first explore and then choose places which appear the most suitable for permanent establishments... The Protestants have already opened a mission. It would be extremely important that Catholicism arrive first at as many places as possible. If they let themselves be preceded the difficulties will be much greater and the results much more uncertain.[1]

Lavigerie, more aggressive and more precise, in his January 1878 reply called for immediate action.

> The larger and better the mission field, the more important it is to assure its possession and to prevent heresy being planted there... The first arrivals and the first ready will have all the advantages and each day of delay is an element of less success... What makes this situation particularly alarming is first of all that Protestantism is already well established at least in terms of numbers on a good many points of Africa and each day their activity increases. It is especially alarming in that the announcement has been made for invading equatorial Africa.[2]

Each discussed in his reply or personally while in Rome in 1877 the use of his order as the agent of Catholicism and requested ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Central Africa particularly in the Great Lakes region. Thus, like Leopold II in 1876, the missionaries, too, were gathering their forces and stood massed on the periphery ready to penetrate into the interior, if only they could find a route inland.

Lateness of Culture Contact with Central Africa

The lateness of European contact with central Africa was due mainly to the geographical problem--how to enter the interior of

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[1] Storme, Rapports..., pp. 00.

[2] Storme, Rapports..., pp. 76-77, 96-97.

central Africa. The central African basin, like a medieval fortress was surrounded by geographic barriers. Missionaries described central Africa as an inverted saucer, consisting of a "high plateau... surrounded by an elevated ridge, from which the land slopes rapidly away...to the sea."[1] Because of this phenomena, navigation of rivers draining Central Africa is obstructed by cataracts on their lower courses. It is largely due to this geographical fact that central Africa remained closed to outside culture contact for so many centuries, although Europeans had been aware of the immensity of the Congo River since 1482 when the Portuguese navigator, Diego Cão, discovered its mouth. The huge volume of water rushing far out into the sea indicated a vast interior waterway.

But until 1877 central Africa was largely a blank on maps.[2] Two explorers had crossed central Africa south of the Congo valley,[3] but they had not gone into the Congo basin. Two British attempts at penetration up the river from the west coast were made in the 19th century,[4] but navigation became impossible after some 100 miles due

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[1] B.M.M., November 1884, p. 398.

[2] The best account of the extent of European knowledge of central Africa in the mid-1870's is Banning, Chapter I.

[3] In 1854-1856 Livingstone went from Loanda to Quikmane in Mozambique and in 1873-1875 Cameron crossed from Bagamoya, opposite Zanzibar, to the Angolan coast at Catumbella.

[4] In 1816 a British naval expedition under Commander Tuckey steamed 100 miles up the Congo River to Vivi. From there they marched overland to the Isangila Falls, 50 miles further inland, but then turned back because of deaths from fever. In 1873 an expedition led by Lt. Grandy started across Africa from the Angolan coast with the purpose of coming to the relief of Livingstone in the interior. This group reached San Salvador and went some 60 miles further north to Tungwa when they received the news that Stanley had found Livingstone. Their purpose fulfilled, they turned around and returned to the coast. See, Roger T. Anstey, Britain and the Congo in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

to the series of cataracts. Thus, in 1876-1877 when Leopold II and the missionaries were increasing their interest in central Africa, the central problem of how to get in still remained.

Importance to Missions of Stanley's Exploration

The publication September 17, 1877 in the London Daily Telegraph of the news of Stanley's arrival on the west coast, after a trip of 999 days, solved the geographical problem. Stanley, who had reentered the interior from Zanzibar in 1874 to continue Livingstone's work, reached Isangila Falls, "Tuckey's Furthest," near the west coast and soon appeared at the trading post of Boma, 60 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. The mystery of the interior of central Africa and the great river which drained it, was solved.[1] Prior to Stanley's arrival most had looked to the east coast as the easiest way into the interior,[2] but Stanley showed that a great river system drained the whole basin of central Africa and that the cataracts limited navigation for only about the first 250 miles. From what would later be named Leopoldville the River was navigable for over 1,000 uninterrupted miles. The newly-discovered Congo River would become regarded as the "door" to central Africa, a "great missionary waterway,"[3] an immense highway into the heart of Africa.

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[1]Stanley's successful crossing showed that the Lualaba, explored by Livingstone, and the Congo were continuous and not part of the Nile River system. The Congo River, though barred at its mouth by cataracts, was probably the best means of getting into the central African interior and with its innumerable tributaries was probably one of the finest river systems in the world. See Barbara A. Yates, "Railways and Waterways of Africa," Journal of Geography, LX, no. 3, March 1961, pp. 120-135.

[2]Daye, p. 163; Storme, "Les Missions et Leopold II...," Zaïre, VI, no. 1, 1952, p. 6.

[3]ABMU Annual Report for 1889, B.M.M., July 1890, p. 303.

Stanley's discovery stimulated both Leopold II and English Protestant mission societies to immediate action. News of Stanley's arrival reached England when the BMS, as mentioned above, was considering Arthington's offer. "This news settled the question of the Congo mission"[1] for Stanley's crossing showed the possibility of using the great waterway to carry out the idea of a chain of missions stretching into the interior. It also stimulated a second English group, the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, to plan a mission (the LIM) for central Africa and to enter the interior by way of the Congo route.[2] Leopold rushed to engage Stanley as his agent and in August 1879 Stanley returned to the Congo as the representative of the Comite d'Etudes du Haut-Congo (CEHC), an "international" organization created by Leopold in the previous year.[3]

Entry of Missionaries to the Congo

Lavigerie's plan for the Catholic proselytization of Equatorial Africa, outlined in his January 1878 reply to the Vatican, made such a great impression in Rome that on February 4, 1878 the Propaganda conferred the Mission of Equatorial Africa on the WF's and named Lavigerie Apostolic Delegate of

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[1] Grenfell in M.H., September 1882, p. 282.

[2] Slade, English-Speaking Missions..., pp. 32-35.

[3] While Stanley was enroute to the Congo, Leopold II returned the foreign subscriptions and by January 1879 he was the sole backer of the new CEHC expedition. In December 1879 the CEHC became the Association Internationale du Congo (AIC). See Wauters, pp. 24-29; Ruth Slade, King Leopold's Congo (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 38.

Equatorial Africa.[1]

Thus, four mission societies, the English BMS and LIM and the French HGF's and WF's were now ready to move permanently into the Congo basin. In January and February 1878, the first emissaries respectively of the BMS and LIM arrived at Boma to explore the Congo situation.[2] The BMS decided to establish their first mission at San Salvador, the court of King Pedro V, Sovereign of the old Kingdom of the Kongo, and to make the station their base of operations "having always in view the reaching of the interior of the vast continent of Africa by the waterway of the mighty Congo River."[3] In April 1879 the first group of BMS missionaries, including W. Holman Bentley, left Liverpool for San Salvador. On the same ship were the first two LIM missionaries who established their mission at Palabala.[4]

At the same time, the French HGF's and the WF's entered the Congo, the former via the west coast, the latter both from the east and the west coasts. The French HGF's opened a mission at Boma in

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[1]Storme, "Léopold II, les missions...," Zaïre, VI, no. 1, 1952, p. 10. His jurisdiction was later raised to Apostolic Prefect. Plangue and Comboni were surprized to learn of the Vatican's decision---both read it in printed literature---but then Lavigerie was able to offer some fifty missionaries for the task. See, Storme, Rapports..., pp. 10, 146-148.

[2]Slade, "L'Attitude des missions protestantes...," Bulletin des séances de l'IRCB, XXV, 1954, p. 687.

[3]Bentley, I, p. 85.

[4]Ibid., pp. 76-104.

May 1880, where they had bought land in 1876 and became the first Catholic mission in what would eventually become the Belgian Congo. On August 8, 1880, they opened the first Catholic school in the Congo with some 20 pupils including the son of the King of Boma.[1] The first WF's arrived at Zanzibar in April 1878 and proceeded inland toward Lake Tanganyika. In November 1880 WF missionaries entered what became the eastern Belgian Congo and established themselves at Muliveba and Mazanze.[2] In mid-October 1882, the WF's also entered the Congo from the west coast.[3]

Now the BMS, LIM, HGF, WF and Leopold's AIC agents began the slow arduous movement inland toward Stanley-Pool, the beginning of the navigable portion of the Congo River. As the BMS and LIM missionaries trudged overland by trail, they established a series of mission stations in the Lower Congo. These were temporary "way-stations" for "all this work...was but a means to an end, and that end the evangelization of the tribes of the wide Congo basin."[4] The HGF under their

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[1]Dieudonné Rinchon, Les missionaires belges au Congo, apercu historique 1492-1930 (Bruxelles: Edition de l' "Expansion belge," 1930), p. 8.

[2]Léopold Denis, Les Jésuites belges au Kwango 1893-1943 (Bruxelles: L'Edition Universelle, 1943), p. 51.

[3]Perraudin, "La Cardinal Lavigerie et Léopold II," Zaire, novembre-décembre 1957, p. 929; Roeykens, Baron Bethune..., pp. 28-29.

[4]Bentley, II, p. 64. For the original decision see "Quarterly Meeting of the Committee, January 15, 1879," M.H., February 1879, p. 33. The LIM shared the same goal. See R.B., October 1878, p. 7. Only when a steamer is launched at Stanley-Pool "will the LIM have commenced the task to which...it has consecrated itself, the evangelization of the vast and populous Congo basin."

leader Father (later Mgr.) Prosper-Philippe Augouard arrived at Stanley-Pool August 1, 1881 claiming parts of both banks for France[1] and continued to move inland, opening a station at Kwamouth in 1885, while Augouard continued to explore further up the Kasai River.[2] Stanley and the Protestant missionaries followed soon after and by 1884 the AIC, BMS and LIM all had steamers launched on Stanley-Pool and were moving into the interior.[3]

The missionary advance quickened after Leopold II was recognized in 1885, following the Berlin West African Conference,[4] as absolute sovereign of the territory being opened which he now called the CIS. Beginning in 1888 Belgian Catholic orders came to the Congo, as did more English and now American Protestant societies. Missionaries in

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[1]Beslier, Geneviève, L'Apôtre du Congo, Mgr. Augouard (Paris: Editiors de la vraie France, 1932), p. 90. The HGF faced, however, an ecclesiastical jurisdiction problem. The year previous, on September 30, 1880, the Propaganda had further defined the geographical limits of Catholic missions in Central Africa. They divided central Africa in half; the area of the northern Congo was to be separated from that of the southern by the Congo River from the Pool to the Falls. The western boundary, thus, cut the HGF off from access even to Stanley-Pool and certainly from any idea of upriver expansion. The HGF immediately asked for a concession. By an accord of August 8, 1881, the WF agreed to give the HGF freedom of expansion into the interior. See Storme, "Léopold II, les missions...," Zaïre, VI, no. 1, 1952, p. 15, Note 40. In 1886 this accord would become part of the ecclesiastical dispute between France, Portugal and Leopold II. See Roeykens, Baron Bethune..., p. 28 and F. Hildebrand, "Les droits historiques du Portugal sur le Congo," Congo, no. 1, 1938, p. 23.

[2]Dellicour, Bulletin des séances de l'IRCB, 1944, pp. 15-16.

[3]In December 1883 Stanley had even established an AIC station at Stanleyville, although its existence was dependent upon the good will of the local Arab slave traders who held de facto control of the eastern Congo.

[4]Sybil E. Crowe, The Berlin West African Conference, 1884-1885 (London: Longman's, Green, 1942); Arthur B. Keith, The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919).

several cases preceded the State into unoccupied areas.[1] The Plymouth Brethren went to the Katanga in 1886 several decades before effective occupation and some five years before even the first exploratory State expedition. The WF went into the eastern Congo with their own armed escort and it was more than a decade before the State defeated the de facto ruling Arabs and longer still before the area was completely under State control.

By 1908 there was a chain of mission stations along the Congo River and its tributaries and in the Katanga and the eastern Congo. Indeed, from Matadi to Zanzibar missions were sprinkled across central Africa, although by no means evenly spread geographically. But the chain was not that initially envisoned by the two Christian groups, namely a continuous connection of stations representing their own faith. By 1903 the Catholic missions were very close to it. The WF had a mission in the Manyema and the SHF had advanced in out-posts to Bateké-Monsi.[2] The Protestants eastward movement was stopped, however, at Yakusu and Yalemba, still some 500 miles from the western-most station of the Church Missionary Society on Lake Albert.[3]

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[1]It took the State almost ten years to explore and initially occupy the whole of the Congo. Expeditions went first to Lake Leopold II, the Uele and Ubangi areas, then to the Katanga in 1891 and finally the Anti-Arab campaign of 1892-1894 brought the immense area of the eastern Congo under token CIS control. This occupation in many areas was but nominal.

[2]SHF Superior Gabriel Grison to Very Venerated Father in Belgium, VII/29/02 from Stanleyville, and SHF Willibrod to Father Superior, XI/16/02, from Stanleyville, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, janvier 1903, p. 28 and avril 1903, p. 199.

[3]Jules Rambaud, Au Congo pour Christ! Esquisse de l'histoire des Missions chrétiennes au Congo belge (Liège: Groupe des Amis des Missions de Liège, 1909), p. 115.

MISSION RIVALRY

Rivalry between religious groups was a central theme in colonial politics and educational development. We have already seen the Christian concern with ejecting Islam. But there were also rivalries both among the various nationalities of Catholics during the first decade as well as continual competition between Catholics and Protestants. From the standpoint of Catholic mission jurisdiction the Congo in 1885 was divided between two foreign (i.e. non-Belgian) mission orders, both French. The HGF had missions at Boma, Nemlao (near Banana), and as far inland as Kwamouth. The WF held the entire eastern region bordering Lake Tanganyika and were in 1885 also establishing a station near Kwamouth[1] which they occupied the following year.[2] In addition the Portuguese attempted to reassert their ancient claim or patronat to ecclesiastic authority over the region.

These foreign Catholic missionaries became a major concern to Leopold II for his major desire was to make central Africa a Belgian colony. After he received recognition from the European powers of his sovereignty over the Congo in 1885, he stepped up the pace of his negotiations with the Vatican for the removal of the foreign Catholic

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[1]Abbot Alfred Corman, Annuaire des Missions Catholiques au Congo belge (Bruxelles: Dewit, 1924), p. 39; Ed. de Jonghe, "Les Missions religieuses au Congo belge," Congo, janvier 1933, p. 3; Bethune, Les Missions Catholiques d'Afrique, pp. 282-287; Roeykens, Baron Bethune..., pp. 37-38; Perraudin, Zaire, XII, no. 1, 1958, pp. 50-64.

[2]Brother Marie-G. Alexis, La Barbarie Africaine et l'action civilisatrice des missions Catholiques au Congo et dans l'Afrique Equatoriale (Liège: Dessein, 1889), p. 161.

orders and the awarding of ecclesiastic jurisdiction to Belgian Catholics.[1]

In November 1886 the Vatican agreed in principal to redistribute ecclestiastic jurisdiction. The Congo would be reserved to Belgian missionaries. The HGF would withdraw to French territory, as soon as Belgian missionaries were ready to succeed them and the WF agreed to limit their activities to the Eastern Congo and to staff these missions with WF of Belgian nationality.[2] The decree which had given the HGF the Kasai as the limit between themselves and the WF was repealed and on December 30, 1886, WF jurisdiction was officially reconstituted and limited to the eastern part of the CIS as the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Congo on the western shores of Lake Tanganyika.[3] Thus, the WF abandoned the navigable basin of the Upper Congo to Belgian control and in March 1887 they abandoned their station at Kwamouth.[4]

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[1]The best treatment of the political negotiations and strategies between Leopold II, the WF and the HGF is that by Jean Perraudin appearing in several issues of Zaïre (see Bibliography for relevant volumes). A very extensive collection of documents pertaining to Leopold's political strategy over the mission issue with domestic Belgian opinion, his negotiations with the Vatican, and the Holy See's view of the mission situation in central Africa is that by Auguste Roeyken, La Politique religieuse de l'Etat indépendant du Congo. Documents I: Léopold II, le Saint-Siège et les Missions Catholiques dans l'Afrique Equatoriale (1876-1885) (Bruxelles: ARSOM, 1965).

[2]The Haut Congo was established as an Apostolic Vicariate. See Bethune, Les Missions Catholiques d'Afrique, pp. 281-287; Rinchon, p. 17.

[3]It was limited in the east by Lake Tanganyika, in the south by Lake Bangweolo, in the west by the Lualaba and in the north by a line from about Nyangue to Lake Mutansinge.

[4]Perraudin, Zaïre, XII, no. 1, 1958, pp. 60-64; Bethune, Les Missions Catholiques d'Afrique, pp. 285-286.

By the end of 1887 the HGF had withdrawn to the French Congo.[1] The November 1886 Vatican decision awarding in principle exclusive ecclesiastic jurisdiction to Belgian missionaries when they became available also ended any Portuguese pretension to control.

Finally on May 11, 1888 a pontifical letter established the Apostolic Vicariate of the Belgian Congo and confided it upon the Congregation du Coeur Immaculé de Marie at Scheut, a Brussels suburb. Their missionaries were known as Scheutists. The Apostolic Vicariate included the entire Congo with the exception of the WF jurisdiction in the extreme eastern Congo. The first Scheutists left for the Congo in August 1888 and established their first station, Berghe-Ste-Marie, on the old WF site at Kwamouth.

However, the educational policies and strategies of the various mission societies and orders were most influenced by intra-Christian religious rivalry. What had begun as a battle between three great religions---Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism---soon became limited to the schism in Christianity, especially after the various Catholic nationalities settled their dispute. Beginning in the 1870's British Protestants and French and Portuguese Catholics all vied with one another on the west coast at the Congo River mouth.[2] Later in the

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[1]Ganot, "Aux origines du Congo belge," Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1911, pp. 68-69.

[2]Slade, King Leopold's Congo, p. 30. See also missionary comments in BMS Annual Reports for 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, in M.H., May 1882, p. 158; May 1883, pp. 170-171; May 1884, p. 175; May 1885, pp. 185-189; Rev. Crudgington to Baynes, III/3/81, M.H., June 1881, p. 219; Also M.H., August, September, and November 1881, passim; Thomas Comber to Dr. Underhill, II/6/82, M.H., June 1882, p. 193; July 1882, pp. 214-215; November 1882, pp. 358-359; Slade, English Speaking Missions..., pp. 64-69. For a general political treatment see R. S. Thomson, Fondation de l'Etat indépendant du Congo (Bruxelles: Office de

Lower Congo Protestant and Catholic missions fought for influence village by village. As the interior began to open up, "both Catholic and Protestant missionaries were eager to press on with all speed up the Congo river for fear of being out-distanced by the others... Catholics and Protestants advanced side by side up the Congo river with their conflicting claims...and where missionaries came into contact, the old polemic was worked out again on African soil..."[1]

IMPORTANCE OF MISSIONS IN BELGIAN COLONIAL EDUCATION

The importance of missions in total educational effort in Belgian Africa is undisputable. Christian missions held an almost exclusive monopoly on education in Belgian Africa from first sustained western contact in 1879 to independence in 1960. With only one exception[2] missions managed all schools until 1906. In that year the state established some half-dozen completely secular vocational schools,[3] but most of these, too, passed under Catholic management in 1909. With a handful of later exceptions, mainly vocational schools associated with colonial government technical services, the missions were the sole agents of education until after World War II. In 1946 a state system of secular schools was created

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Publicité, 1933) and Ruth Slade, "English Missionaries and the Beginning of the Anti-Congolese Campaign in England," Revue belge de Philologie et d'histoire [Bruxelles], XXXIII, no. 1, 1955, pp. 37-73.

[1]Slade, English-Speaking Missions..., pp. 28-29.

[2]The Ecole de sergeants-comptables, run by the Force Publique, drew pupils exclusively from the State School Colonies.

[3]These included a school for government clerks (école de candidats-commis), three trade schools, a male nurses' school and a school for agricultural workers.

for European children, but did not admit Africans until the early 1950's. In the final school year before independence, 1959-1960, mission-run schools still enrolled 97 percent of all Congolese school children.[1]

There were several types of mission schools developed during the CIS period categorized according to their relationship with the state. This same structural pattern, developed before 1908, indeed by 1892, continued until independence. First, there were the State School Colonies (colonies d'enfants de l'état), established under the 1890 Education Act,[2] managed by Belgian Catholic missionaries, but owned and financed by the state, which dictated the curriculum. In 1908, however, there were only two for boys, one at Boma and the other at Nouvelle-Anvers, and two for girls, at Nouvelle-Anvers and Moanda, with a total enrollment of only several hundred. Second, the Authorized Mission School Colonies, established under the 1892 Education Act,[3] were private mission schools. In exchange for certain favors from the state, mainly the regular supply of young children, the missions agreed to consult the government on the nature of their curriculum. Since the state chose not to enforce the latter stipulation, there was virtually no difference between these schools

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[1]UNESCO Mission to the Congo, Etude 7 (Léopoldville: 1961) mimeo; Bureau de l'enseignement Catholique au Congo, Ou en est l'Enseignement au Congo? (Leopoldville: BEC, 1960),p. 23. The UNESCO study used the statistical files of the Ministry of Education, which had not been able to issue the 1959-60 school year statistics before the transfer of sovereignty. While exact figures do not agree between the two sets of statistics, the magnitude is similar.

[2]Bulletin officiel, 1890, pp. 120-122.

[3]Bulletin officiel, 1892, pp. 18-19.

and independent mission schools.[1] Third, the majority of schools in the Congo were independent mission schools (écoles libres). These private schools were run by the various mission orders without any aid or subsidization from the state and therefore were independent of any regulations under either the 1890 or 1892 Education Acts.

This early period had a lasting impact on later educational development, if only for the reasons that (1) the missions continued to dominate education in Belgian Africa, and (2) because the educational organization set up in the CIS period persisted until after World War II with only minor changes in the 1920's.[2] The educational revisions of the 1920's largely codified and regularized what had existed in educational policy and practice since the 1890's. No substantial changes were made in the educational organization which had been effected by the 1890 and 1892 Education Acts reinforced in 1906 by a Convention with the Holy See.

The predominance of missions in total educational effort throughout the colonial period in the Congo places them in a position of extraordinary importance in educational development. It is crucial to note that at independence in 1960 the Belgian Congo possessed several hundred Congolese with higher education, all but

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[1] With one exception only the Catholic missions participated in this Act.

[2] A Commission was appointed after World War I to review colonial education. Its recommendations appeared as Projet de l'Enseignement Libre au Congo belge avec le concours des sociétés de Missions Nationales (Bruxelles: 1925) and was put into practice by a series of government regulations. See, Congo belge, Organisation de l'Enseignement Libre au Congo belge et au Ruanda-Urundi, avec le Concours des Sociétés de Missions Nationales (Bruxelles: Dision-Verviers, 1929). Portions of the former appear in English translation in David G. Scanlon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 142-160.

26[1] being Catholic priests. There were no Congolese doctors, agronomists, lawyers, or engineers among the 26 graduates of regular universities.

If one accepts the proposition that education played an important role in social change in Africa, then mission views of desirable socio-economic change obtain a much wider political significance. For most mission schools were private and independent of government direction, and therefore, educational policies were determined solely by the individual mission orders. The New African Man and the new society to be developed in central Africa are inextricably tied to the goals of the various mission orders and societies and to their educational policies and practices.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are at least three basic questions one could ask regarding education during the first thirty years of sustained culture contact in Belgian Africa. Since the missions played a predominate role in providing schools, (1) what were the relations between church and state particularly in the formulation of colonial educational policy? (2) What effect did mission education have on social change in the African community? Or, (3) what factors were responsible for the nature and direction of educational development and expansion?

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[1]The figure of 16 college graduates was widely quoted in the press in 1960-1961 and has since found its way into several scholarly studies. This statistic resulted from an interview given to a wire service correspondent by the present writer, soon after her arrival in the Congo as Acting Cultural Officer of the American Embassy. Subsequent research and personal interviews in 1960-1961 with the registrars of Lovanium University and the State University at Elisabethville unearthed a further 10 such graduates.

All these questions are important. But to document and answer all adequately would require more space than is available here. Therefore, while there will obviously be some overlap, this study will focus upon the latter topic--an analysis of the factors responsible for the nature and direction of educational development.

The study will be concerned with attempting to answer such subsidiary questions as: What effects did the heterogeneity of mission policy outlook and educational effort have on educational development? What factors influenced the formulation of mission educational policy (or policies) and methods? What was the relation between educational policy and actual practice? How did mission educational policy and actual practice relate to overall mission colonial goals, particularly in relation to their conception of the "civilizing task"? What role, if any, did the African community play in the development of mission educational policy and practice and therefore in the direction and nature of educational development? How important were environmental factors in directing educational development? After finding answers to these queries, it should be possible to assess the relative importance of a number of factors on the process of educational development and to differentiate those which were crucial or decisive from those which were simply contributory.

The study will be concerned with all mission schools, excluding only those few schools (less than one percent of enrollment) run by the State. Since the government chose not to supervise the authorized

mission school colonies, there was no difference in practice between such schools of mission orders participating in the benefits of the 1892 Education Act and completely independent mission schools. These two organizational categories account for over 99 percent of all schools and school enrollment in the Congo during the period 1879-1908.[1]

This can be termed a comparative study of the educational policy and practice of 18 different "school districts" or "school boards." Between 1879 and 1908 eighteen separate mission orders, nine Protestant and nine Catholic (see Table II-I), came to the Congo and remained.[2] In addition six Sisterhoods[3] assisted some of the

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[1]The only exceptions would be the State school colonies---four in 1908---and the half-dozen secular state vocational schools.

[2]Three other Christian groups entered the Congo but did not remain. Secular priests from the city of Ghent came to the Congo between 1891 and 1899 to take care of the souls of the Europeans and West Africans constructing the Matadi-Leopoldville railway. When the line was completed they returned to Belgium and were replaced by a mission order, the Redemptorists.

The London Missionary Society for a brief time in the 1890's attempted to begin work on the Congo side of the Great Lakes, but they soon abandoned their station and returned to East Africa.

Finally, Bishop Taylor's Self-Supporting Congo Mission operated haphazardly in the Congo from 1886 to 1897. William Taylor was named "Bishop of Africa" by the Methodist Episcopal Church, but his missionaries spent so much time in trying to stay alive they did little mission work. See Rapport sur la mission au Congo des Prêtres du Diocèse de Gand 1891-1899 (Gand: Huyshauwer et Scheerder, s.d. [1912]; Bentley, passim; Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S. Report of Missionary Bishop William Taylor to the General Conference of 1892 at Omaha, Nebraska; Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S. Report of Bishop William Taylor, for Africa, 1896; William Taylor, Africa, Bishop Taylor's Report to the General Missionary Conference (n.p., 1894); William Taylor, Bishop Taylor's Quadrennial Report of Our Church Work in Africa to the General Conference of 1888 [of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S.] (n.p., 1888); William Taylor, The Flaming Torch in Darkest Africa (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1898); William Taylor, William Taylor of California, Bishop of Africa, An Autobiography (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897); William Taylor, Story of My Life (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1895).

[3]The six Catholic women's missionary societies and their date

Catholic orders, but since their policy was determined by the order with which they worked, they will not be treated separately here. These 18 mission societies can be considered both "school districts" in the geographic sense and "school boards" in the policy-making sense. Mission societies and in some cases even individual mission stations were able to formulate and follow different policies---in the role of the school, the extent of educational effort, methods of financing, provision of school texts and materials, methods and pace of educational expansion, etc. Even Catholic missionary orders differed in policy. They were obviously subject to the general direction of their order, as most Protestant groups were to their home society, but also to the Propaganda in Rome as well. In their policy-making role, however, mission societies can quite legitimately be equated to "school boards" or local educational authorities, both of which are also in turn subject to and dependent upon higher authority and control whether overtly or latently. Therefore, mission society and "school board" will frequently be used interchangeably when referring to the function of policy making. Mission societies also in many cases were "school districts" in that they were responsible for a specific and separate geographic area. That is, the Propaganda in the case of Catholic missions divided the Congo geographically into specific areas and then appointed a particular

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of arrival (in parentheses) were: The Soeurs de la Charité de Jésus et de Marie from Ghent(1891) working with the Scheutists and Redemptorists; the Soeurs de Notre-Dame from Namur (1894) working with the Jesuits; the Soeurs Missionaires de Notre-Dame d'Afrique, called White Sisters, from Antwerp (1895) who worked with the White Fathers; the Franciscaines missionaires de Marie, from Woluwé (1896) who worked with both the Scheutists and the Sacred Heart Fathers; the Soeurs du Précieux Sang from Aarle Rixtel in Holland (1898) assisting the Trappists; and the Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur de Marie (1899) from Berlaer-lez-Lierre who helped the Premonstratensians.

missionary order to be responsible for religious activities in that geographic district. The Protestant societies by common agreement also did not overlap geographically, each society working in a separate area---usually delineated on the basis of language.

Overlapping of geographic responsibility of "school districts" and "school boards" did occur, however, because of religious rivalry. Catholic mission orders made a concerted effort to follow closely the movement of the Protestants, if they could not enter an area first and hold a monopoly upon it. Thus, in some areas, especially the Lower Congo, Protestant and Catholic mission societies both occupied the same geographical "district," so that it was served by two separate school systems. This is little different from the situation in most western European or American localities where both state and private schools coexist in the same "school district." Moreover, geographic overlapping was important because of the impact of religious rivalry upon the formation of educational policy and effort.

Preparation of the study involved mainly examination of relevant primary materials still preserved in Belgian archival collections (listed in the bibliography) and periodicals published, usually monthly, by the mission societies working in the Congo. These latter, mainly collections of letters and diaries of early missionaries, are virtually the sole means[1] of reconstructing the daily life and

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[1] It is impossible to consult archives of the Vatican because of the 100-year regulation. Archives of individual Catholic mission orders are also not generally available to outsiders. In the case of the English-speaking Protestant missions Ruth Slade has written: "Early letters have been preserved in this form [journals] when all trace of them has disappeared from the archives of the missionary societies, or when...such archives are non-existent." English-Speaking Missions..., p. 6.

activities of missionaries and the shifting pattern of mission educational policy and practice. Because of the unexpected volume of materials found the study has been limited as indicated above and therefore much of the materials in Belgian archival holdings has been excluded as they deal principally with mission-state relations in education. However, awareness of this data has given the writer a certain confidence and perspective in analysis, despite the fact that for purposes of the focus of this study primary reliance has been placed upon missionary sources such as journals and other published first hand accounts of life and work in the Congo. This, of course, involved collecting, perusing and analysis of a great deal of widely-scattered primary materials. Great care has been taken in their internal criticism, comparing and cross-referencing the observations of several missionaries or other eye-witnesses of events and activities.

The choice of the first thirty some years of sustained cultural contact in the Congo as a case study of the process of educational development is particularly useful. First, because cultural contact was late in the modern period the process of change is telescoped in time. Second, coastal trading firms were not as active on the small Congo coastline as elsewhere and so Belgian Africa offers a tabula rasa to the writer examining the process of development of western-type education in a society previously without such institutions and quite unaware of their existence elsewhere. For these two reasons alone Belgian Africa would seem to provide a good locale for a case study of educational development.

The first date, 1876, of the study therefore represents the

beginning of mission action to enter west central Africa.[1] The ending date of 1908 is arbitrary as any such cut-off date must be in a continuous historical process. That is, educational development did not end in 1908. However, that year represents a major political break in Belgian African history. In November 1908 sovereignty over the CIS passed from the personal hand of Leopold II to the Belgian Parliament. This marked a major change in the nature of colonial decision making including educational policy as the Congo became directly involved in Belgian party politics and the structure of colonial institutions and law was reorganized.

After describing the mission schools in operation and the extent of educational effort during the first thirty years (Chapter II), the study is divided into five principal parts, mission goals (Chapter III), mission methods and policies (Chapter IV), and African reactions and environmental factors (Chapter V), each of which played a role in influencing the course of educational development. The final chapter (Chapter VI) assesses the relative importance of these five factors in determining the process of educational development.

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[1]The first missionaries did not permanently settle in the Congo until 1879, when the LIM established the first mission and school in what became the Congo. However, the HGF purchased land in 1876 at Boma. This earlier date is a more convenient one than 1879 for historical purposes because of the active planning by both missions and Leopold II during 1876-1877.

CHAPTER II

MISSION EDUCATIONAL EFFORT: THE SCHOOLS IN OPERATION

Unfortunately, it has been common practice in secondary sources to speak of "missions" as though they represented a homogenous group with common goals and methods whose educational effort was similar. Christian mission societies, however, frequently varied radically in social policy and practical methods. This was especially true of their views and efforts in education and their use of schools in evangelization. Indeed, the educational effort of the 18 mission societies serving the Congo by 1908 (see Table II-I) was profoundly different.

The purpose of this chapter is to compare their educational efforts in terms of four phenomena: enrollment, textbook production, level and extent of curriculum, and the duration of schooling available. While these are very rough indices of educational effort, the lack of reliable statistics makes any more precise method of analysis unwise. Although inexact indices, they do serve two further functions; they present a view of the mission schools in operation and they underscore the disparate educational activities of the different mission societies.

ENROLLMENT

When Stanley completed his trip down the Congo River in the autumn of 1877, there was not a school in what would become the Belgian

TABLE II-I

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE CONGO INDEPENDENT STATE,
OCTOBER, 1908

Mission Order	Abbreviations	Date of Arrival	Area	Denomination	Nationality	No. of Central Stations 1908	Locations
Baptist Missionary Society	BMS	1878	Lower, Middle, & Upper Congo	Baptist	British	9	Matadi, Wathen, Leopoldville, Lukolela, Bolobo Monsembe, Bopoto, Yakusu, Yalemba, Kimpese*
White Fathers (Société des missionaires d' Afriques)	WF	1880	East Congo	Catholic	French-Belgian	7	Baudouinville, Mpala, Lusaka, Lukulu, Kasongo, Bruges-St. Donat, Ngegesi
American Baptist Missionary Union	ABMU	1884	Lower Congo	Baptist	American	6	Palabala, Banza Manteke, Lukungu, Sona Bata, Matadi, Ikoko, Kimpese*
Swedish Missionary Society (Svenska Missionsforbundet)	SMS	1884	Lower Congo	nondenominational Protestant	Swedish	6	Mukimbungu, Kibunzi, Nganda, Londe, Kinkinge, Kingoyi
Christian and Missionary Alliance	CMA	1884	Lower Congo	Christian Brethren	American	6	Boma, Vungu, Kinkonzi, Lolo, Yema, Maduda

TABLE II-I (Continued)

Mission Order	Abbreviations	Date of Arrival	Area	Denomination	Nationality	No. of Central Stations 1908	Locations
Garenganze Evangelical Mission	GEM	1886	Katanga	Plymouth Brethren	British	2	Luanza, Koni Hill
Congo Balolo Mission	CBM	1888	Equator	nondenominational Protestant	British	6	Lulanga, Ikau, Bonginda, Bongandanga, Baringa, Leopoldville
Scheutists	Scheut.	1888	Lower & Middle Congo, Kasai, Mayumbe	Catholic	Belgian	16	Moanda, Boma, Sona Bata, Kangu, Leopoldville, Nouvelle Anvers, Umangi, Bokumbi, Luluabourg, Merode Salvadore, Lusambo, Hemptinne St. Benoit, Tielen St. Jacques, Ndembo, Mpangu, and Luebo
American Presbyterian Congo Mission	APCM	1891	Kasai	Southern Presbyterian	American	2	Luebo, Ibanj
Society of Jesus	Jesuits	1893	Lower Congo	Catholic	Belgian	7	Kisantu, Kimpako, Lemfu, Sanda, Wombali, Mpese, and Bambatas
Trappists of the Abbey of Westmalle	Trappist	1894	Middle Congo	Catholic	Belgian	4	Bamania, Mpaku, Coquilhatville, and Bombimba

TABLE II-I (Continued)

Mission Order	Abbreviations	Date of Arrival	Area	Denomination	Nationality	No. of Central Stations 1908	Locations
Westcott Inland Mission	WIM	1897	Kasai	Plymouth Brethren	British	1	Inkongo
Sacred Heart Fathers	SHF	1897	Upper Congo	Catholic	Belgian	8	St. Gabriel, Basoko, Romée, Banalya, Avakubi, Pontierville, Béni (Kakondjo), Stanleyville
Premonstratensians	Premon.	1898	Uele	Catholic	Belgian	3	Ibembo, Amadi, Gumbari
Redemptorist Fathers	Redempt.	1899	Lower Congo	Catholic	Belgian	6	Tumba, Matadi, Kinkanda, Kimpese, Kionya, Thysville
Foreign Christian Missionary Society	FCMS	1899	Middle Congo	Disciples of Christ	American	1	Bolenge
St. Joseph's Missionary Society at Mill Hill (Mill Hill Fathers)	MHF	1905	Equator	Catholic	British	4	Bokakata, Lulanga, Baringa, Basankusu
Holy Ghost Fathers	HGF	1907	Katanga	Catholic	Belgian	1	Kindu

*Kimpese was a joint venture of the BMS and the ABMU.

Congo. There were no written languages, nor books. By 1908 printed literature was available in 19 Congo languages and there were some 100 central station schools plus thousands of village "bush" schools.

From the first Christian mission schools established on the west coast respectively at Palabala by the LIM in 1879 and at Boma by the French HGF in 1880, the number of missionaries and mission schools grew rapidly in the Congo. The number of mission societies operating in the Congo increased from three in 1879 to 18 in 1908 and from a total of less than a dozen missionaries to some 600. These schools were serving some 46,000 African adults and children in 1908 (see Table II-II) out of an estimated population in October 1908 of 15 million Africans.[1]

While the statistics in Table II-II should be considered only approximations indicating relative magnitude, they do enable several conclusions to be drawn. First, there is little correlation between the number of missionaries and educational effort. That is, the Scheutists rank first in the number of total foreign staff in 1908, but they rank only eleventh in terms of educational effort, if measured by the average number of pupils per missionary. On the other hand the ABMU is the exact reverse.

Secondly, measured on the same basis, the Protestant educational effort in general far surpasses that of the Catholic missions irrespective of the staff available. With less than 200 missionaries in 1908 the Protestant societies served 26,700 pupils in contrast to the 19,400 pupils handled by 400 Catholic missionaries. In addition the lowest

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[1]Wauters, p. 365.

TABLE II-II

MISSION EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS,
OCTOBER 1908

Mission Society	Missionaries (Men and Women)		Pupils (Station & Village Schools)		Pupils per Missionary
BMS (k)	47		6,718		143
ABMU (j)	19		7,580		400
SMS (i)	34		5,174		152
CMA (g)	19		1,730		92
APCM (e)	16		2,700		170
WIM (k)	5		n.a.		n.a.
GEM (d)	10		400		40
FCMS (h)	10		873		87
CBM (f)	27		1,500		56
Subtotal	187		26,695		
Jesuits (b)	51		10,000		200
Redemptorists (a)	37		316		9
Trappists (a)	32		300		9
Premonstratensians (a)	28		340		12
MHF (c)	7		100		14
SHF (a)	41		500		12
WF (a)	53		4,020		76
HGF (a)	6		n.a.		n.a.
Scheut-Congo/Mayumbe (a)	78		1,121		14
Scheut-Kassi (a)	67		2,683		40
Subtotal	400		19,380		
TOTALS		587		46,075	

TABLE II-II (Continued)

Sources:

[a]Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1909, pp. 44-45. Most, but not all, statistics from this source, are as of March 1, 1909.

[b]The last Jesuit statistics are given in Missions belges, 1902, passim. At that time there were 5,000 pupils at station and ferme-chapelles schools. The above figure represents a conservative estimate for 1908.

[c]These figures are for July 1910, See Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1911, p. 45.

[d]E.S. December 1907, p. 469 and February 1908, p. 76

[e]Miss., May 1909, pp. 258-259.

[f]R.B., 1902, passim. Enrollment estimated from 1902 figures.

[g]CMA, Annual Report for 1908.

[h]FCMS Annual Reports, Miss. Intellig.

[i]Svenska Missionsforbundet, The Congo Mission of the Swedish Mission Society (Stockholm: Tryckeri-Attiebolaget, 1909) p. 16.

[j]Annual Report for the ABMU for 1909, pp. 194-195.

[k]Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1908, p. 127.

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pupil per missionary ratio among the Protestant missions, that of the GEM, surpasses by a wide margin all Catholic mission orders but those of the Jesuits and WF.

Thirdly, there are wide variations in educational effort between the various mission societies and orders within the two great Christian denominations. The quantitative educational efforts of the Jesuits and WF account for more than three-quarters of all children attending

Catholic mission schools, yet the missionaries in those two orders represent only one-quarter of all Catholic missionaries in the Congo in 1908. In addition the pupil per missionary ratio for the WF and the Jesuits is triple that of the next ranking Catholic order. The same disparity in quantitative educational effort is also true of the Protestant societies. The American and British Baptists and the SMS clearly exceed the remaining six societies.

It is thus possible, on the basis of quantitative educational effort, to establish a ranking among the various mission societies. The highest group clearly would include five societies; the ABMU, BMS, SMS, APCM and the Jesuits. The lowest group, would include six societies; the Redemptorists, Trappists, Premonstratensians, SHF, MHF, and the Scheutists, while an intermediary group would be made up of the CMA, FCMS, WF, GEM and CBM.[1]

While it is of interest to examine the 18 mission orders quantitatively and to group them for analytic purposes into three types or groups, the conclusions reached should be accepted cautiously, for quantity gives no indication of quality. Such factors as the availability and difficulty of reading materials, the level and content of curriculum and the duration of schooling serve as further indices of educational effort.

TEXTBOOKS

Formal education is generally dependant upon printed materials---primers, readers, arithmetics as the basics plus various types of

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[1]Data on the WIM and HGF is not available.

supplementary reading materials on other branches of knowledge. An examination of the materials used in Congo schools and the printed literature available for literates serves as an important index for evaluating educational effort. The writer has found reference to descriptions of over 400 books, pamphlets, texts, and magazines printed between 1882-1908 in nineteen languages spoken in the Congo and intended for use by Africans (see Appendix A). Of these the writer has actually examined more than half. With very few exceptions these materials were all prepared by missionaries.

Various conclusions as to educational effort can be drawn from an examination of these printed materials. The most obvious is the mission monopoly of available and useable reading materials. Since no Congo languages were written[1] before the missionaries' arrival, mission publications represent the entire extent of reading matter available to Congolese literates in local languages. The government had few publications in Congo languages and few State officials even bothered to learn them well.[2] Since the missions owned all but one of the existing presses in 1908 (see Appendix B), there was no way for other dissemination of written materials had anyone else wanted to write them. Books in European languages were useless to the majority of literates because of the language barrier, although a few enterprising Africans, especially in the Lower Congo where lucrative and prestigious

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[1]With the exception of coastal Swahili which was used, however, in a different form in the Congo.

[2]Remarks by Jesuit Father Struyf are typical; see Missions belges, août 1906, p. 295.

interpreter positions were available, did teach themselves Portuguese, French or English.

Second, by controlling reading matter, the extent and type of new ideas could be limited or expanded at the discretion of the monopolists. Such domination could be used to reinforce desired patterns of behavior. The overwhelming theme of all literature was religion.

For obvious instructional purposes the largest percentage of printed materials were primers and first readers, but the latter could easily be written around religious themes. The Protestants then concentrated upon translations of Bible selections, Bible stories and hymnals, while the Catholic missions prepared short catechisms, prayer books and histories of the saints. Indeed, few Catholic missions in 1908 had more than this basic triad. Even the native stories, used as readers in the classroom, were "revised" so as to illustrate a Christian moral.[1] The magazines,[2] too, propagated the religious message and are good illustrations of content. The SMS journal, Minsamu Miayange (Messanger of Peace), contained "religious, church history, and general educational articles, letters and short notes

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[1]John H. Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals (London: Seeley, Service, 1913), p. 199.

[2]Three school districts, the BMS, SMS and Jesuits, issued monthly magazines. The SMS's Minsamu Miayange, and the Jesuit's Ntetembo Eto, begun in 1892 and 1902 respectively, continued regularly well beyond 1908. See E. Laveille, L'Evangile au centre de l'Afrique. Le Père Emile Van Hencxthoven, S.J., fondateur de la Mission du Kwango (Congo belge) 1852-1906 (Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1926), p. 256; Missions belges, novembre 1901, pp. 410, 437; mars 1902, p. 119; and Svenska Missionsforbundet, pp. 14-15. A third, the BMS's Ngonde ya Ngonde, lasted about a decade (1899-1908). See M.H., May 1908, p. 146. This was published at San Salvador. In addition the SMS and Jesuits published small almanacs beginning respectively in 1901 and 1902. Two other BMS magazines were very short-lived. Wathen station began Se Kukiangu (Dawn is Breaking) in Kikongo in March

of the most important occurences in the world."[1] Ngonde ya Ngonde, a BMS magazine, featured serials of religious stories translated both by missionaries and Africans, church news and other items of current religious interest.[2] Ntetembo Eto (the Star), the Jesuit monthly, was made up of passages from the Bible, explanations of certain points in the catechism and short biographies of the saints whose days were to be celebrated during the month.[3]

The provision of "non-religious" textbooks was undertaken by only a handful of mission school districts. Again the same societies who emphasized other aspects of educational effort took the lead. Six school districts, the BMS, ABMU, SMS, WF, Jesuits and SHF, prepared arithmetic texts. Only two texts in geography appear to have been published for use by Congolese before 1908---by the SMS and WF.[4] Only five mission school districts, the BMS, ABMU, Jesuits, Redemptorists and Scheutists, had texts for the teaching of French by 1908. In the late 1890's the WF developed a grammar in Latin for Swahili speakers for use by their pupils in the newly-organized Lower Seminary.[5] But it

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1891, but it lasted only a year. The BMS upriver press at Bolobo began in 1896 a quarterly Ntoto li Meya (Sparks), in Bobangi, but it too folded after four issues. See, Carpenter, p. 21 and Bentley, II, p. 244.

[1]Svenska Missionsforbundet, p. 15.

[2]BMS Annual Report for 1897, M.H., May 1898, p. 240.

[3]Missions belges, novembre 1901, p. 410.

[4]Bentley at Wathen spoke in 1894 of the need for a geography of Africa but the BMS evidently produced none. BMS Annual Report for 1894, M.H., May 1895, p. 218.

[5]WF Huys, Superior at Mpala, to colleague, undated, Mouvement Anti-esclavagiste, février 1900, p. 48; Mgr. Victor Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, 1891-1947. Souvenirs du premier éveque belge (Namur: Grands Lacs, Collection Lavigerie, 1948), II, p. 167.

should be noted that language texts and even arithmetic books can easily be given religious content.[1]

The mission literature producers were well aware that a monopoly on the printed word was an effective means of social control and conditioning. Dan Crawford, whose station at Luanza had the only printing press in the entire Katanga during the early period, wrote, "Christ owns the printing press in the country and this at present shuts the land up to a Christian literature only..."[2] Rev. William Morrison, the APCM leader in the Kasai, wrote in a similar vein, "We can give the people from our printing press only the books that will be helpful to them knowing that the country will not be flooded with infidel and agnostic literature which has proved such a curse in other lands."[3] However, even the Word of God needed editing in Africa so as to make it more suitable to mission goals. Rev. J. A. Clark, a leading BMS proponent of education, in a paper on "What Literature is Most Suitable for Circulation Among the Converts"[4] warned that a good deal of religious literature, including Bible passages, needed purging on the basis that the African would misunderstand because of his lack of cultural background.

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[1] A good contemporary account of such uses is George R. La Noue, "Religious Schools and Secular Subjects," Harvard Educational Review, XXXII (Summer 1962), pp. 255-291.

[2] Dan Crawford, XII/25/05, E.S., May 1906, p. 176.

[3] Kassai Herald, January 1909, p. 10.

[4] G.C.R., 1909, pp. 93-102.

Thirdly, it is important to note that the mission monopoly on reading materials was not evenly shared and used.[1] Two mission orders, the American and British Baptists, dominated production of reading materials. They account for 60 percent of all materials printed in Congo languages between 1876 and 1908. Five other mission societies, the CBM, the Jesuits, the SMS, Scheutists and FCMS, each far behind the production of either Baptist mission, together account for another 30 percent of the total printed materials. Thus, seven out of 18 mission orders produced 90 percent of all printed educational materials in the CIS. Seven school districts, the WF, GEM, APCM, SHF, WIM, Trappists and Redemptorists, produced together only some

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[1]Table A-I in Appendix A represents substantially the total amount of reading materials used by each order. There was some borrowing between neighboring mission orders serving districts with the same dominant language, but it was never extensive because presses were never able to keep up with demand. For example, the Jesuits produced materials for the Redemptorists and even for Catholic missions in the French Congo, particularly after 1907 when their larger press was installed. See Fernand Sadin, La Mission des Jésuites au Kwango, Notice Historique (Kisantu: Imprimerie Bergeyck, 1918), p. 59; Redemptorist Father Veys at Tumba, undated, La Voix du Redempteur, janvier 1901, p. 26. Trappists and possibly the Premonstratensians used Scheutist Upper Congo books in Lingala. See Father Léon to Rev. Father Prior of Achel, X/2/99 from Bamania, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, février 5, 1900, p. 89. But since the Jesuits and especially the Scheutists produced very few materials, the total educational effect of borrowing was minimal. In the Lower Congo it appears all Protestant societies---the CMA, BMS and ABMU---used the SMS translation of the Bible. See, CMA, Annual Report for 1905, p. 107; Robert Brainerd Ekvall, After Fifty Years; A Record of God's Working Through the Christian and Missionary Alliance (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1939), p. 109; B.M.M., October 1906, p. 398.

The missions also used European publishing houses for printing, although the volume was never heavy. The English Protestant missions drew for assistance upon the British and Foreign Bible Society in particular, which had been so active in the development of education in England at the beginning of the 19th century. Catholic mission orders in the Congo, particularly the Scheutists and the SHF, also sent materials to Europe for publishing.

37 separate items, while four school districts, those of the MHF, HGF, Premonstratensians[1] and CMA, prepared no printed materials before 1908, although several of them had operated in the Congo for two decades.

The index of total textbook quantity, quality aside, belies two basic factors affecting the importance attributed education. The total volume of printed materials is misleading as for some missions it represents sustained concentration on a single language (see Table A-II, Appendix A), while for others it is spread among several languages thereby diluting educational effectiveness. Also the staff available to produce written materials should be taken into account (see Table II-III). In measuring educational effort it is more meaningful, therefore, to examine total effort in each language and in terms of staff available rather than solely total volume produced.

Not only were the Baptists the largest producers of total volume, but they also produced the largest amount of materials in single languages. The nearest competitors to the Baptists in volume of materials produced in a single language were the CBM, the Jesuits, the SMS, the FCMS, WF and GEM. Indeed, the SMS, the Jesuits, GEM and FCMS produced materials only in one language and the CBM and WF in two only, although Mongo and Swahili respectively predominated. These six societies, the CBM, Jesuits, SMS, FCMS, WF and GEM, are clearly differentiated from the remaining six school districts who produced

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[1]The Premonstratensians' official journal, Bibliothèque Norbertine, juillet-août 1904, p. 186 reported editorially that the Prefect Apostolic, Mgr. Derikx, had just published the second edition of a catechism in a local language, but neither Starr nor Kervyn mention it, nor does a copy exist in the Ministry of African Affairs or Harvard library collections, nor is there ever a direct reference to any printed materials in Premonstratensian missionary letters. This editorial reference is, thus, probably in error.

TABLE II-III

TEXT PRODUCTION IN RELATION TO STAFF AVAILABLE 1908

Mission Society	Missionaries	Texts	Ratio
BMS	47	177	4.0
ABMU	19	72	4.0
SMS	34	19	.6
CMA	19	0	---
APCM	16	10	.6
WIM	5	7	1.4
GEM	10	12	1.2
FCMS	10	17	1.7
CBM	27	30	1.1
Jesuits	51	21	.4
Redemptorists	37	3	.08
Trappists	32	4	.1
Premonstr.	28	0	---
MHF	7	0	---
SHF	41	8	.2
WF	53	13	.2
HGF	6	0	---
Scheutists	145	18	.1

written materials but they can in no way compare with the emphasis given written materials by the Baptists. However, while their combined volume represents only half of that of the ABMU alone, it nonetheless confirms the fact that these six mission school districts were in fact

teaching some African pupils at least to read.

Educational effort should also be examined in terms of the number of missionaries available to write materials. Here the two Baptist mission groups are again the leaders. However, they are even runners between themselves. The BMS had over twice the number of missionaries as did the ABMU.[1] This would suggest that despite the fact that the BMS produced twice as much materials, that both societies were placing the same emphasis upon school materials in terms of their differing resources.

Closely allied to an examination of teaching materials by mission societies is their capacity to print and distribute such literature. The possession of a printing press illustrated not only potential capacity to produce and distribute educational materials, but the mission society's desire to do so.

The BMS was the largest Congolese publisher with four presses in 1908 located at San Salvador, Wathen, Bolobo and Yakusu. The ABMU for many years had a small press at Banza Manteke and also hand presses at Palabala and Lukungu,[2] but they appear to have been short-lived with the exception of Banza Manteke, the latter, however, inadequate for the demand.[3]

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[1]If one measures total materials available in 1908 by the number of missionaries in that year the BMS and ABMU have the same ratio. This is a very rough figure. Although both societies came to the Congo in approximately the same period, it does not take into consideration the number of missionaries in earlier years when these materials were being produced.

[2]B.M.M., November 1891, p. 481; January 1892, p. 26; July 1892, pp. 314-315; April 1899, p. 151; July 1899, p. 379; July 1903, p. 509; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1907, p. 167; and Frederick Starr, A Bibliography of Congo Languages (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908), passim.

[3]Rev. Seymour E. Moon at Banza Manteke, undated, B.M.M., October 1906, p. 401.

With the exception of the CMA and WIM all Protestant societies in the Congo had presses by 1908, but only three Catholic orders operated such facilities. The WF set up the first Catholic press in the Congo in 1899 at Mpala,[1] after two decades in the Congo. The most productive, that of the Jesuits, did not arrive until 1901,[2] although the Jesuits had worked in the Congo since 1893. The Scheutists had a small hand press at Nouvelle-Anvers, established about 1903, which produced materials for the Upper Congo stations and for those in Mayumbe as well.[3] The "importance" of this work is indicated by the fact the Fathers delegated its operation to the Sisters.[4]

Thus, one can conclude from a quantitative examination of the production of printed materials, taking into account the concentration of materials in one language and the provision of presses, that eight mission societies dominated the field. The BMS and ABMU led by a wide margin, followed by the CBM, the Jesuits, the SMS, the FCMS, WF and GEM. While the Scheutists' volume compared with these latter two societies, their materials appeared in multiple languages meaning the materials available in any one region were extremely limited. This proliferation of languages used by the Scheutist's missions and the

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[1]WF Huys, undated, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, février 1900, p. 48.

[2]Van Hencxthoven, X/6/02, Missions belges, février 1903, p. 72. A larger press arrived in 1907. The Jesuits operated a second small press at Wombali beginning in 1903. See, Van Hencxthoven to Jean Huyghe [owner and editor of Nieuws van der Dag], from Wombali, undated, Missions belges, juillet 1903, p. 272; décembre 1903, p. 446.

[3]Scheutist Father Alfred Corman to T.R.F. Superior, III/30/05 from Kangu, Missions en Chine et au Congo, juillet 1905, p. 150.

[4]Starr, p. 97; Joseph DeWit, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1910, p. 44.

lack of clear concentration in any one suggest that they attached little importance to the preparation of written materials in comparison to the other school districts mentioned.

Fourthly, educational effort as measured by literary production varied significantly geographically and ethnically. While textbooks were prepared in nineteen different Congo languages, five (Kikongo, Bobangi, Lingala, Nkundu and Swahili) accounted for two-thirds of production. However, the only language with any sort of selection as well as quantity was Kikongo. For example, seven of the eleven arithmetic texts,[1] one of the two geographies,[2] five of the eight texts for learning French,[3] the sole book on biology and six of the seven magazines and almanacs were in Kikongo.

This emphasis on Kikongo represented the over-occupation of the easily accessible Lower Congo. Provision of reading materials was slower on the later-settled Upper River.[4] Missionary accounts claimed some two million spoke Kikongo, while they were also under the impression that a like number spoke Tshiluba[5] and it was said five million spoke Nkundu as a mother tongue. Yet these latter two languages had only a total of 13 and 31 books respectively compared with the 128 in Kikongo by 1908.

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[1]Two others were in Swahili and one each in Lifoto and Lingala.

[2]The other was in Swahili.

[3]The remaining three were in Kiyombe, Lingala and Ntumba.

[4]The preponderance of literature in Bobangi---59 separate volumes---represented the missionaries' early efforts in the 1890's, when it was hoped this language could be used throughout the upper river area. This did not materialize.

[5]Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, p. 23.

A comparison of general Protestant and Catholic mission activity shows an overwhelming interest and effort by Protestant missions in producing written texts. Even the Jesuits and the WF show up well below even the poorest Protestant producers. The nine Catholic missions with more than twice the number of missionaries as Protestant societies in 1908 only produced 16 percent of the total printed literature. More than three-quarters of the presses in the Congo belonged to Protestant societies. The motivation for this difference was partly religious. As two Protestant missionaries put it, "the missionary and the printing press should never be separated,"[1] for the traditional Protestant emphasis upon a personal relationship between the individual and the Word of God meant that not only must a literature be produced in the local vernacular, but that church members must be trained to read it.

Despite the prominence of their activities in this area, Protestant missionaries continued to be unhappy with the extent of their literary efforts, although these represented yet another indication of their concern with educationally-related programs. Their presses never seemed able to keep up with demand, despite expansion and despite the fact they sold books. Even as late as 1905 ABMU missionaries, for example, continued to describe their printing endeavors as "a very unpretentious affair"[2] able "only to meet pressing needs."[3] Many Protestant presses

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[1]Reverends Sheppard and Hawkins, APCM Annual Report for 1899, Miss., December 1899, p. 548.

[2]ABMU Annual Report for 1898, B.M.M., July 1899, p. 379.

[3]Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, p. 348.

worked round the clock. The old-fashioned hand press at Wathen, despite its small size, turned out hundreds of copies of school books for the great boarding school Bentley built there, frequently operating day and night shifts to keep up with demand, even though the heavy work was done at Underhill and later San Salvador.[1] Or Bolobo, the largest publishing center in the Upper Congo, which employed a full-time missionary supervisor and a regular African staff of more than a dozen, in rush periods used as many as forty to fill printing orders for most of the upriver Protestant societies, especially Yakusu and Bopoto stations experiencing heavy African demands, as well as trading firms and the CIS and French Congo governments.[2] Bolobo would have expanded their publishing activities even further if they could have obtained more equipment.[3]

The smaller Protestant presses were used mainly for preparing lesson sheets and small readers for the schools,[4] while the large

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[1]Bentley, VIII/9/89, M.H., December 1889, p. 436; BMS Annual Report for 1889, M.H., May 1890, p. 188; Starr, passim; BMS Annual Report for 1904, M.H., May 1905, p. 248.

[2]BMS Annual Report for 1904, M.H., May 1905, p. 253; Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1905, p. 52. In 1898 its equipment was expanded to include an old press which had originally been used in the Cameroons, but when BMS work was closed out there with the German occupation the press was brought by Scrivener to Underhill, where it remained until that station was closed out in the 1890's. It then went to Bolobo to add to their capacity. See BMS Annual Reports for 1899 and 1900, M.H., May 1900, p. 258; May 1901, pp. 261-262.

[3]Starr, p. 39.

[4]Grenfell, XII/10/83 and VIII/21/84 quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, pp. 156, 211.

presses at Bolobo, Londe and San Salvador turned out the Gospels and longer books.[1] This led to a good deal of cooperation between Protestant mission societies in the printing of books. While those Protestant mission societies which had presses were willing to print for other Protestant school districts, these latter found this a "costly process and slow."[2] They each, therefore, preferred to obtain their own press for it took much time and great cost to send manuscripts to Europe or America, thereby causing long delays because all the proofs had to be sent back and forth.[3]

The ABMU took the lead in advocating even further cooperation in producing printed educational materials, particularly among Lower Congo Protestant missions. They claimed the duplication of the same kind of school books---primers, wall-sheets, and readers---in the same language was done at much needless extra labor and cost.[4] The ABMU talked of a central press at Matadi[5] and the BMS of a Central Printing Press for the whole Congo at Leopoldville.[6]

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[1] Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1904, p. 93.

[2] Herbert Smith, Fifty Years in Congo, Disciples of Christ at Equator (Indianpolis: United Christian Missionary Society, 1949), p. 25; M.I., December 1905, p. 525.

[3] M.I., December 1905, p. 525; Missions belges, juin 1902, p. 237; A. E. Scrivener to Baynes from Bolobo, M.H., September 1901, p. 450.

[4] Paper by Rev. Charles H. Harvey of the ABMU, G.C.R., 1907, p. 152. The ABMU in particular felt its inadequacies in producing literature because of the paucity of equipment due to the Union's financial difficulties.

[5] Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, p. 348.

[6] Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1906, pp. 47, 55.

> In the broader issue of language and literature, a desire has been expressed for adoption by missionary societies of a harmonious policy securing uniformity and economy in preparation of general literature and publication of school books. This proposition is made in the interest of avoidance of duplication of books by missions conducting work in this section of Africa. It is recognized also as very important that adoption of a uniform standard in the written form of the language shall be secured from the several societies of the lower Congo.[1]

But neither standardization of the language nor cooperation in production and printing of school materials materialized by 1908, largely because the BMS was slow to respond. The official reason given was that a printing press on a commercial basis was not yet possible in the Congo. While the ABMU and SMS continued to encourage such cooperation, it would be another some thirty years before action was taken.[2]

Based upon both volume and content of printed materials it is reasonable to conclude that the major educational agents, judged

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[1] Annual Report of the ABMU for 1907, p. 161.

[2] See, W. D. Reynolds, The Past Fifty Years in Congo of the Baptist Missionary Society (London: Carey, 1942), p. 26; G.C.R., 1907, pp. 152-162. It was not until 1926 at the International Missionary Council at Le Zoute, Belgium, that an International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa was established to develop materials on a co-ordinated basis in African languages. However, in the Congo action was not taken until the 1934 General Conference of Congo Protestant Missions. Then it was agreed to set up a central Bible Depot and Bookshop under the management of the Congo Protestant Council to serve all Protestant mission needs for books and supplies. Financed by grants from the British and Foreign Bible Society and the United Society for Christian Literature, it was opened in Leopoldville in July 1935. But progress was slow due to insufficient funds so that missions continued to order separately their school supplies from abroad. It was only in 1945 that the Bookshop was sufficiently expanded to stock goods able to handle Protestant mission needs. At the same time its functions were expanded to include printing and publishing under the name of La Librairie Evangelique au Congo (LECO). This press began operation in July 1948. See, George W. Carpenter, LECO Provides and Produces (Leopoldville: Librairie Evangelique au Congo, 1950), pp. 2-8 and Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, pp. 36-41.

by textbook production, were certainly the BMS, ABMU, SMS, and WF. The small number and limited variety of books in Catholic school districts in general would tend to indicate there was emphasis upon memorization in terms of pedagogical method. Certainly the aim was not to produce a reading public. Indeed, Catholic missionaries in the Congo, while admitting that the Protestants prepared more written materials than they, ridiculed the fact that aside from Bible selections and hymnals the Protestants wasted their time preparing secular texts. One Redemptorist Father claimed that he was informed that the Protestant missionaries did this work for good royalties and advancement.[1] Whatever the motivation both the larger selection and greater volume of reading material in those Protestant school districts active in literary production implies more flexibility in teaching method, depth of curriculum content, and less memorization. More importantly it indicates an emphasis upon literary education. The religious focus of content by no means detracts from the fact that they made available a large quantity of collateral reading materials for use in literacy training.

Yet the Protestants were not satisfied. The Congolese of the CIS period "had but two or three books to last him a lifetime."[2] Even as late as 1952 a leading Protestant educator could write: "There are still Congo languages used in schools in which the entire printed literature could be tied up in a pocket handkerchief. There is no

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[1]Father J-C Van Cleemput, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, novembre 1906, pp. 305-312.

[2]William Young Fullerton, The Christ of the Congo River (London: Carey, 1928), p. 198.

Congolese language in which a complete set of elementary school books, adequately planned and up-to-date in content and method, yet exists."[1]

CURRICULUM

The level and type of curriculum is a good clue to the real goals of educational agencies as well as illustrative of what actually goes on in practice. Curricula in mission schools in the first 30 years was oriented toward literary-type studies rather than vocational or artisanal training, although in theory many of the leading missionary educators would claim this latter was their goal. Curricula was literary-oriented because its main content and purpose was religious and primarily dependent, therefore, at least in the case of the Protestants, upon Bible reading. The purpose of advanced training was to provide an African religious "elite" in the immediate form of evangelists and catechists.

There were three basic kinds of schools in the Congo; village schools run by African catechists and evangelists, primary schools established at central mission stations (e.g. those with resident missionaries), and "advanced" training schools for preparing the village teachers frequently located at the largest or most important central station. Vocational instruction which took place at central stations, and girls' education will be treated separately below because of their importance to total educational development.

Central Station Primary Schools

The 18 mission school districts fall into three clearly differentiated categories on the basis of their central station primary school

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[1]Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, p. 65.

curricula; those who concentrated mainly upon oral religious instruction, those who provided at least reading and writing in addition to religion; and finally those mission orders who began with a basic minimum of the three R's. Though the variations in these elementary subjects may seem slight, and unimportant, the contrary is true, as it is hoped the following discussion will show.

1. Oral Religious Instruction

Four mission societies, the Scheutists, Premonstratensians, Trappists and MHF, limited their educational efforts even at central stations largely to oral religious instruction. Later after several years or even decades of operation in the Congo the elements of reading and writing were introduced at some stations, for some pupils for a very short time, but even these "select" made little educational progress.

Scheutists' stations were typical of the emphasis given oral religious instruction by these four Catholic mission orders in what were referred to as "schools." Throughout some twenty volumes of published Scheutist missionary letters between 1888 and 1908, no mention is made of secular instruction beyond that of elementary notions of reading and writing to the "most advanced."[1] Even this secular education was introduced only at some stations after years of limiting formal instruction to the memorization of prayers and the catechism. For example, the first mention in missionary letters of instruction

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[1]There is mention in 1907 of spoken French being provided for "a few" at the Scheutist Luluabourg station (Sister Veronique to Superior General, II/3/07, Missions en Chine et au Congo, août 1907, p. 184), but considering the overall educational activity of this station, it is unlikely that such instruction was regular or effective.

in reading and writing at Luluabourg comes in early 1897,[1] six years after the station was founded, educational effort to that point (1891-1897) having been "purely religious, except for the terms of usual politeness which the boys learn in French and the girls in Flemish."[2] Other Upper Kasai Scheutists' central stations do not report secular education until 1901 at Lusambo (founded 1895), when they "began to teach children the letters of the alphabet"[3] and 1905 at Hemptinne St-Benoît (founded 1897), when similar instruction was begun.[4] The same lateness of secular instruction was typical of Mayumbe and Upper Congo Scheutists' stations. Reading and writing were taught beginning in 1902 at Kangu (founded 1899)[5] and Umangi (founded 1901) and in 1903 at Nouvelle-Anvers (founded 1889) and Leopoldville (founded 1899).[6] The timing of the introduction of

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[1]Father Charles Seghers at Luluabourg, I/29/97, and Father Senden at Luluabourg, III/19/98 in Missions en Chine et au Congo, janvier 1898, p. 575 and octobre 1898, p. 130.

[2]Sister Godelieve at Luluabourg, II/2/94, Missions en Chine et au Congo, août 1894, p. 508.

[3]Father Handekyn at Lusambo, undated, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, décembre 1902, p. 371.

[4]Father Joseph Savels to Cambier, III/21/05, and Father Van Roey at Hemptinne St. Benoît, III/1/07, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1905, p. 214 and novembre 1907, p. 264.

[5]Father Omer Beel from Kangu, VI/7/02, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1902, p. 194.

[6]Father Van Velthoven to Van Ronslé from Umangi, I/6/02, Missions en Chine et au Congo, avril 1902, p. 95; Father Ar. Renier at Umangi, IV/21/03, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1903, p. 169. Van Velthoven reported that in his reading group the "two most advanced" could now write "from memory" the letters of the alphabet. The first mention of secular instruction at Leopoldville by the Scheutists is in 1903 when the local cure reported gathering some 30-40

secular education coincides with the mounting interest of Africans in literacy and with the expansion of Protestant schools to meet the new demand. There is little mention of any secular subjects, even basic literacy, in Premonstratensian[1] or Trappist[2] missionary letters. By "schools" the Trappists meant classes in religious doctrine and prayers. In 1896 reading and writing were taught only on Sundays and holidays and when rain prevented the children playing outside during their noon recreation period.[3] Several years later, those few children who could read and write asked "continually to be taught new things" to which the Trappists responded by adding more "advanced" oral religious instruction.[4] There is no evidence that much greater attention was paid education. The MHF concentrated solely upon oral religious instruction.[5] As late as 1910 they still had schools at

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children at noon for "reading and writing." Father Omer Beel, XII/3/03, from Leopoldville, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1904, p. 87.

[1]Long descriptions of Premonstratensian stations at Amadi and Ibembo as late as 1904 make no mention of a school building or formal education. See, for example, Canon P. Maguire to colleagues at Tongerloo, I/10/04, from Amadi, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juillet 1904, pp. 201-202. Gumbari central station was an exception. Here children attended voluntarily as they were from the local area, rather than freed slaves or orphans consigned to the mission by the State.

[2]For example, two lengthy descriptions of Trappist work in the Congo published in 1905 and 1907 respectively make little mention of secular instruction. See, Father Norbert, Procurer of Trappist Mission in Belgium, to Executive Committee, Oeuvre des Missions Catholiques, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, octobre 1905, pp. 296-297; Norbert to Treasurer General, Oeuvre des Missions Catholiques, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1907, pp. 67-68.

[3]Brother Stanislaus to Abbot of Westmalle, undated, from Bamania, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, May 7, 1896, p. 155.

[4]Brother Valentin to Abbot of Westmalle from Bamania, XI/6/00, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, mars 8, 1901, p. 138.

[5]Father J. Oomen, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1906, p. 175.

only two of their four central stations.[1]

Such limited secular instruction, however, was never meant to be widespread on a mass level, but confined to "the best behaved and most intelligent children"[2] being prepared as catechists to compete for villages with literate Protestant evangelists. For example, as late as 1906 at Nouvelle-Anvers only 43 pupils out of more than 300 children could read "decently well" in Lingala. Indeed, the curriculum for the majority of children there appears little different from that of two decades earlier.[3] The same sort of limited opportunity for secular instruction existed at Umangi.[4] The Scheutists in the Mayumbe

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[1]Note in Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1911, p. 45.

[2]Father Van Velthoven to Van Ronslé from Umangi, I/6/02, Missions en Chine et au Congo, avril 1902, p. 95. See, also, Father Honoré Baten at Umangi, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, septembre 1905, p. 270; janvier 1906, pp. 34-35; Father Ar. Renier to President, Oeuvre de St. Amand at the Higher Seminary of Bruges, from near Umangi, III/8/06 and Baten from Umangi, VII/12/08, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1906, pp. 211-212 and novembre 1908, p. 262; Bibliothèque Norbertine, septembre-octobre 1901, p. 237; novembre-décembre p. 277; and Premonstratensian Mgr. Léon Derikx from Gumbari, I/23/05, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 233.

[3]The first Scheutist Upper Congo school at Kwamouth was an off and on affair between 1888 and 1892 where Father de Backer, seated under a fig tree, gathered some 20 African children "at certain hours...and endeavored to put a little light into the heads of these little barbarians." De Backer made them all wash first "to become accustomed to cleanliness" and then by means of pictures taught religious doctrine. Father Gueluy, undated, Missions en Chine et au Congo, juillet 1892, p. 93. See also descriptions by De Backer to Superior, undated, Missions en Chine et au Congo, août 1890, p. 302; Van Ronslé to a colleague from Nouvelle Anvers, I/29/91, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, mai 1891, p. 228.

[4]Father Ar. Renier to President, Oeuvre de St. Amand at the Higher Seminary of Bruges, from near Umangi, III/8/06, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1906, pp. 211-212. Bokumbi, the third Upper Congo Scheutist station, was not opened until 1907 and thus there was insufficient time to evaluate its activities and methods before annexation.

area also limited what little secular instruction was given[1] to the "most intelligent and best behaved."[2]

Even this tardy and limited provision of schooling was never really effective educationally, a fact borne out both by missionary statements and by textbooks available. All four Catholic orders in this category continually report, long after the late beginning of their schools, the lack of educational progress. Children were only "beginning" to learn the "first notions" of reading and writing, indeed pupils were little more advanced than the alphabet and first reader.[3] A description of the "advanced" class at Kangu central station in 1905 and that of the Premonstratensians at Gambari are illustrative.

At Kangu class was held on the verandah of the missionaries' house with only a blackboard, a table and several packing cases serving as pupils' desks, although most chose to sit upon the ground. Children came and went from this "advanced" class, there being no set time for registration and no grouping into grades. They learned their letters from the blackboard in the "lower" class and in the "upper" class worked through a series of some 15 separate graded sheets to learn

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[1]Father N. DeCleene from Kangu, I/8/00, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, avril 1900, p. 98.

[2]Father Omer Beel from Kangu, VI/7/02, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1902, p. 194.

[3]Baten at Umangi, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, septembre 1905, p. 270 and janvier 1906, pp. 34-35; Renier near Umangi, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1906, pp. 211-212; Baten from Umangi, Missions en Chine et au Congo, novembre 1908, p. 262; Father A. Huymans at Lusambo, X/2/04, Mouvement des Missions catholiques au Congo, novembre 1904, p. 333; Father Joseph Van Moorem to Superior at Kangu, VI/28/06, Missions en Chine et au Congo, octobre 1906, pp. 232-233; Brother Valentin from Bamania, X/2/00, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, février 1901, p. 53.

orthography. When they were able to read the letters perfectly on one sheet, they then were given the next most difficult.

> "The same manoeuvre is repeated until they have learned the very simple orthographic combinations of their language, combinations which completely lack the eccentricities of European languages. Then all that remains is to be able to read printed texts. This done, one is doctor, without receiving the hood. This last effort requires scarcely more than ten days after my pupils have in hand the reader that the Reverend Father Provincial had printed at Nouvelle-Anvers. From then on I hand over to the laureats a copy of the catechism, which would constitute for my little ones the marshall's baton, if they had a giberne. However, they receive it with a smile of ecstacy and the nomination as catechist at some post is not long in coming."[1]

The Apostolic Prefect characterized the only Premonstratensian school, at Gumbari, in 1905 as "too primitive." Since the children were writing in sand "the patient schoolmaster was obliged to immediately check the pupils' work before the wind takes the fancy to fulfill the job of a blackboard sponge."[2] He described educational activity at Gumbari central school in mid-1905 as:

> "Oh! it is not a question of coming to give learned demonstrations of philosophy and theology. We don't envision yet as high as that in our Congolese universities. The catechism must be taught and all, big and small, must learn to spell and to read their lessons. In the 'higher course' the four operations of arithmetic are given."[3]

Two years later the following description of curriculum and program at Gumbari was given:

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[1]Father Alfred Corman at Kangu to T.R.F. Superior in Belgium, III/30/05, Missions en Chine et au Congo, juillet 1905, pp. 150-151.

[2]Mgr. Léon Derikx, I/23/05, from Gumbari, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 233.

[3]Derikx to young brothers at Abbey of Tongerloo from Gumbari, VII/12/05, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1906, p. 78.

> "These [100] young people are divided into three categories; those of the first category---about a third---know how to read, write and calculate; those of the second are not yet entirely aware of these elements and those of the third content themselves with spelling laboriously the alphabet; with time and care, they will also succeed at perfection."[1]

The rest of the day, as at all Catholic mission stations, was spent in religious exercises and manual labor.

Not only do statements of the missionaries bring into question the methodical extent and success of any secular instruction, but so does the lack of printed materials. The first printed instructional materials of the Scheutists and Trappists appeared in 1903-1904,[2] while the Premonstratensians and the MHF produced no printed materials at all. Since all the instruction at Gumbari was done without the aid of books of any kind, one wonders what they read for practice. Was it not limited to single words and simple sentences written by the missionary on a blackboard and still by the pupils in the sand as Mgr. Derikx observed in 1905? The Trappists, too, before their first books were printed in 1903 reported that both "the teacher and the children write in the sand with sticks. The wind frequently blows away the writing immediately."[3] By 1908 the Upper Kasai Scheutists had but five books,

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[1]Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1908, pp. 31-32.

[2]There is some confusion here with regard to the Scheutists in the Kasai. In 1896 a missionary at Luluabourg (Sister Godelième, IX/4/96, Missions en Chine et au Congo, février 1897, p. 400) mentions the existence of two texts for African use, a catechism and a history of the saints. These are not mentioned again in missionary letters of the period, nor does Kervyn list them, although he can be considered sympathetic to Catholic missions.

[3]Brother Stanislaus to Abbot of Westmalle from Bamania, XI/15/96, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, May 7, 1897, pp. 175-176. It should be noted that this type of instruction was occurring in other parts of Africa in this period and has even continued to the present day.

two catechisms, two primers and a history of the Saints,[1] while the Mayumbe Scheutists and Trappists had but three small brochures, the Catholic triad of a primer, a catechism and a history of the saints or a prayer book. These societies produced no texts in arithmetic and only in 1908 did the Scheutists come out with a French-Kikongo book of sentences and vocabulary.

There is even some question as to whether these limited number of secular subjects reported were really taught in any systematic manner at the central stations. For example, Father Handekyn in announcing the beginning of reading and writing at Lusambo in 1901 pointed out the difficulties of even beginning arithmetic instruction. "For arithmetic it will be more difficult to make them understand the fundamental operations because they have no words for the different operations. I will try to invent some suitable words which can be used in the future."[2] This is curious in that Luluabourg reported teaching arithmetic in 1897 in the same language area and under the same ecclesiastic supervision. While it is not surprising that the Prefect Superior of the region described their program for children at Luluabourg in 1895 as "morning and evenings, religious instruction is given them; manual work, singing and prayer take up the rest of their time,"[3] but his description of the mission in 1904 mentions similar activities and no secular education.[4]

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[1]Kerwyn, p. 302.

[2]Handekyn, undated, from Lusambo, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, décembre 1902, p. 371.

[3]Cambier, III/5/95, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1895, p. 122.

[4]Extract of Report by Cambier, III/12/04, Mouvement des Missions catholiques au Congo, juillet 1904, p. 211.

2. The Two R's Plus

Eight mission school districts offered a basic minimum secular program of reading and writing to most children at their central station schools. Arithmetic, French, and simple geography were frequently available to the more advanced pupils.

There was a fairly wide range between the educational effort of these societies. The least educationally active, such as the GEM, CMA, and WIM, dwelt mainly upon reading and religion, writing being a somewhat haphazard corollary, but at least offered. Mrs. Crawford at Luanza spoke substantively for these three societies when she wrote, "We desire to teach them to read God's Word in their own language, nothing more."[1] This involved essentially "spelling out syllables and encouraging the memorization of moral sentences or Scripture verses."[2] The missionary teacher at Luanza in 1904 described the station's

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[1]Mrs. Grace Crawford at Luanza, XI/10/06, E.S., March 1907, p. 116. Other descriptions of GEM schools are found in E.S. in missionary letters. For Luanza from John Wilson, IV/5/99, August 1899, p. 252; Jim A. Anderson, VI/13/99, November 1899, p. 333; Crawford, IX/20/00, January 1901, p. 36 and William White, IX/1/02, January 1903, p. 36. For Mwena from Dugald Campbell, I/22/91 and William George, I/22/01, June 1901, p. 234. For Koni Hill from John A. Clarke, I/24/04 and X/27/08, May 1904, p. 195 and January 1909, p. 36 and Jeanie B. Anton, VIII/12/06, January 1907, p. 15.

At CMA schools pupils "memorized Scriptures, studied the Bible and learned to read and write." CMA, Annual Report for 1906, pp. 146-147.

It is extremely difficult to find materials on the WIM as their missionaries contributed letters to no published journal, nor did they attend the periodic General Conferences of Missionaries of the Protestant Societies Working in Congoland. The comments made here are based upon information from other Protestant missionaries in the Congo and upon analysis of their printed materials. See, for example, Kassai Herald, January 1909, p. 1; Bentley, II, p. 418 and Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, p. 24.

[2]Dugald Campbell, Blazing Trails in Bantuland (London: Pickering and Inglis, s.d. [1932]), p. 133.

curriculum as of "a most elementary character; the subjects being the year's Sunday school lessons, Harry's catechism, reading and writing."[1] The other five mission orders, the APCM, Redemptorists,[2] SHF,[3] CBM,[4] and FCMS,[5] who offered a minimum of the two R's were more active educationally. All claimed to be teaching at least to the most advanced.

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[1]Willaim Hammond at Luanza, I/17/04, E.S., May 1904, p. 176.

[2]In 1903 the Redemptorists reorganized education and made Tumba exclusively a catechist boarding school and the following year Kinkanda, mainly a girls' orphanage and hospital, established a catechist section, where the Sisters accepted very young orphan boys. Sometime later Kionza station followed suit. These catechist schools in addition to catechism and prayer added reading and writing to the curriculum. Some received instruction in arithmetic and a few were exposed to French. See, La Voix du Redempteur, letters from Father Van Cleemput at Kinkanda, undated, juillet 1905, p. 273 and Superior Joseph Heintz to his father from Tumba, undated; février 1904, p. 76. A permanent two-room school was not constructed at Tumba until 1905. See Father A. de Lodder, Superior at Tumba, to Canon Leroy, President of the Higher Seminary of Liège, I/16/06, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, février 1906, p. 63.

[3]SHF central station primary schools by 1905 included reading and writing in addition to catechism and singing. See, Missionary letters in Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 537 and Regne du Coeur de Jésus, juillet 1906, p. 98, février 1907, p. 19; juin 1907, p. 83; and Regne du Sacré-Coeur, mars 1908, p. 38; mai 1908, p. 71; novembre 1908, pp. 147-148; décembre 1908, p. 175; février 1909, pp. 20-21; avril 1909, p. 52.

[4]R.B., November 1897, p. 422; March 1899, p. 116; January-February 1901, p. 40; December 1904, p. 319; July-August 1905, p. 176; Harry Grattan Guiness, These Thirty Years: The Story of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union (London: RBMU, 1903), pp. 51-52.

[5]M.I., April 1900, p. 87; August 1900, p. 183; November 1901, p. 288; June 1908, pp. 235, 252.

pupils at their central stations, arithmetic, elementary geography and French. But here, too, there was great variation. For example, as late as 1908 arithmetic instruction at the most advanced Redemptorist primary school, that at Tumba, included only "easy" addition and subtraction,[1] while the FCMS station primary school at Bolenge eight years earlier was already teaching multiplication and division.[2] The FCMS,[3] Redemptorists,[4] SHF,[5] and HGF[6] claimed to include French in the central station primary school curriculum for the most advanced pupils. Yet the Catholic missions did not begin such French instruction until 1905-06 and then only for the most advanced catechist pupils, while the FCMS introduced French at the beginning of their school in 1899, initially only for the most advanced, but by 1901 for all pupils.

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[1]Father Van Cleemput, III/1/08, La Voix du Redempteur, juin 1909, pp. 234-235.

[2]FCMS Annual Report for 1900-01, M.I., November 1901, p. 288.

[3]See, missionary letters in M.I., April 1900, p. 87; August 1900, p. 183; June 1908, pp. 235, 252 and FCMS Annual Report for 1900-01, M.I., November 1901, p. 288.

[4]Superior Joseph Heintz from Matadi, XII/8/05 quoted in Sept Années au Congo, p. 13; Father de Lodder, to Cannon Leroy, I/16/06, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, février 1906, p. 63; Father Van Cleemput at Kinkanda, undated and Van Cleemput from Tumba, III/1/08, La Voix du Redempteur, juillet 1905, p. 273 and juin 1909, pp. 234-235.

[5]Father Gontier at Stanleyville and Father Slanger at Ponthierville, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, novembre 1906, p. 161 and avril 1907, p. 51.

[6]By 1909 the station school at Kindu was offering French to the most advanced. Father E. Conrad, VII/2/09, Messager du Saint Esprit, novembre 1909, p. 340.

Indeed, some were reported by 1907 as being proficient enough to teach the subject to beginners.[1]

While central station schools of these societies offered the two R's to most pupils and additional subjects to some, their sporadic functioning, the level of literacy of their catechist-evangelists, continual remarks by the missionaries themselves, and the number and level of available textbooks indicate curricula claims were often limited to hope rather than regular practice. For example, the Bolenge station school was frequently closed for months at a time between 1899 and 1907.[2] Like the four Catholic orders discussed earlier, the Catholic missions in this group, the SHF and the Redemptorists, got a late start in opening schools. This might be compared with sporadic functioning in the sense that these two mission orders did not seriously operate schools until after the turn of the century. Published

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[1]FCMS Annual Report for 1907-08, M.I., November 1908, pp. 485-486.

[2]The first school, opened in 1899, was given up several weeks later "owing to the press of other duties" (E.E. Faris, M.I., August 1899, p. 169; December 1899, p. 356). It was then reorganized in November 1899 and continued for some months until halted when the teacher went on itineration with her husband and later when her husband was ill and required constant care (FCMS Annual Report for 1899-1900, M.I., November 1900, p. 295). The school operated sporadically throughout 1901 (FCMS Annual Report for 1901-02, M.I., November 1902, p. 364) and was again suspended in 1902 (M.I., April 1903, p. 125). In 1903-1904 it was "disbanded for many months" (FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 411), while the chapel was completed (FCMS Annual Report for 1904-05, M.I., November 1905, p. 395) and again suspended in early 1905 when the teacher, was ill for eight months (A.F. Hensey, M.I., May 1906, p. 156). School was reopened in January 1907 with the arrival of a lady school teacher, but she soon died (FCMS Annual Report for 1906-07, M.I., November 1907, p. 492). From the summer of 1907 on the station day school appears to have been conducted regularly (FCMS Annual Report for 1907-08, M.I., November 1908, p. 485).

correspondence of the SHF between 1897, when they first went to the Stanleyville area, until about 1903, reflects a singular lack of interest in secular education and a concentration upon oral religious instruction both at central stations and in surrounding villages.[1] Despite statements of half-hearted reading and writing instruction, the first expression of real interest in secular education came in 1901 when Superior Father Gabriel requested financial aid to build a school at Stanleyville and when the first text, a catechism, was printed. A school at Stanleyville was not opened until 1903 and not until the following year was one opened at the main central station of St. Gabriel,[2] although the station had been in operation for six years. This was undoubtedly in response to the school movement beginning after the turn of the century at the neighboring BMS station of Yakusu.

An analysis of missionary comments on educational advance indicates little progress was made by these societies. For example, while SHF educational activity greatly increased after 1903, by 1906 the results were not particularly profound. A missionary at Béni station described his educational work soon after the post was established as "rather than giving school" he "taught the a,b,c,'s."

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[1]There is some indication that reading and writing were offered to at least catechists at St. Gabriel mission station several years after its establishment. See, Baron Léon Bethune, "Les missions catholiques de l'Etat indépendant du Congo," Revue générale, 1903, p. 314, where he claims the information was supplied directly by Mgr. Grison. But descriptions of the daily schedule in late 1903 make no mention of "class" or "school." See, Jeanroy, pp. 8, 20-21. A lengthy description of Romée station in 1905 also mentions no school. See, Father Hermann Joseph Kohl, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 236.

[2]Jeanroy, pp. 19-20.

and this for only 45 minutes a day.[1] This situation was not limited to the new station of Béni. After three years' operation, in the school at Stanleyville even the most advanced group was no more than "a class of a,b,c,d..."[2] At Basoko there was no school building and classes were held in an open shed with insufficient instructional materials,[3] while the Avakubi station school was not constructed until late 1908.[4] Only the railway town of Pontierville's station reported by July 1906 "a great number knew how to read and write."[5]

Redemptorist schools had similar success. In 1907 the curriculum at their most advanced school, Tumba, was reorganized into three grades on the basis of pupil aptitude and achievement; a "preparatory" and an "upper" class which was divided into a "lower" and an "advanced" section. In 1908 the majority of the 87 pupils were in the "preparatory"

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[1]Father Germain at Béni, XII/27/06, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, mars 1908, p. 38.

[2]Father Gontier from Stanleyville, undated, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, novembre 1906, p. 161.

[3]Massman to Grison from Basoko, VI/22/08 and Massman at Basoko, undated, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, octobre 1908, p. 136 and décembre 1908, p. 175. Massman asked Grison in June 1908 for prayer books, catechisms and school materials and was still asking for them "desperately" in January 1909 when the school building was finally constructed. See letters from Massman of VI/22/08 and I/5/09, Regne du Sacré-Coeur avril 1909, p. 52.

[4]Father Laurent Wulfers to Grison from Avakubi, IX/29/08, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, février 1909, pp. 20-21.

[5]Father Joseph Slanger, undated, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, avril 1907, p. 71.

group. The fifty pupils there were "taught gradually reading, writing, numbers and easy addition." The 22 pupils in the "lower" section "knew their own language in such a way as to be able to read and write it; they are generally quite familiar with addition and learn with facility the first elements of the French language."[1] The 15 pupils in the "advanced" section, the highest of the three grades, and the only one taught by a European missionary, were reported by 1908 to have acquired the following knowledge:

> history of the Old Testament from the creation to the entry of the Israelites into Palestine; general geography of the globe and of Africa; boundaries of the Congo and its division into districts; addition and subtraction. They wrote nearly correctly their language and nearly all read it very fluently. They were less capable in composition. Finally in French they had succeeded in conjugating verbs in 'er' and in reading passably what was put before them. For linear design it is difficult to evaluate the dispositions and the success of the pupils because the course has hardly just begun.[2]

Educational success, as evaluated by the missionaries themselves, was little more advanced in the more active Protestant central station primary schools of this group. For example, APCM missionaries in retrospect admitted their educational program was not particularly profound, missionaries spending their energies in oral religious instruction involving huge daily catechism classes of several hundred people at a time and in Sunday school work, rather than on the regular

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[1]Father Van Cleemput, III/1/08, La Voix du Redempteur, juin 1909, pp. 234-235. The letter was signed only "V.C." and was either held up from publication or pre-dated. In a letter in the same issue (p. 237) but dated II/2/09, Van Cleemput described the Tumba school as "divided into two rooms in which were desks, geographic maps, shelves, pictures of Holy History, a world map, and lamps."

[2]Ibid., pp. 234-235.

station day school.[1] After four years' operation of their Luebo station primary school, APCM missionaries admitted that "none could read or spell" because there were no books and few slates,[2] yet they had claimed in previous letters to be teaching reading and writing. While the APCM reported in 1901 that "quite a number of the older boys and girls can now read very well in their native language,"[3] most of their evangelists were illiterate. A missionary described curriculum at APCM station schools in 1906 as:

> After the alphabet is thoroughly learned, the first reader is taken up...Several other small books of ascending grade are used, leading up to a paraphrase translation of Romans and Fist Corinthians. This is the highest reader. Meanwhile, instruction in writing is given. And some of the pupils learn to write very rapidly indeed...To the more advanced simple instruction in arithmetic and geography are given.[4]

FCMS missionaries also felt they had hardly begun their educational work even after ten years.[5] As late as 1912 only 20 percent of their evangelists were literate,[6] let alone conversant with arithmetic,

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[1]Robert D. Bedinger, Triumphs of the Gospel in Belgian Congo (Richmond, Va: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1920), pp. 49-51.

[2]Mrs. Sheppard, XI/22/97 from Luebo, Miss., March 1898, p. 125.

[3]Rev. Morrison in General Report for 1901, Miss., June 1902, pp. 283-284.

[4]Rev. J. Sieg from Ibanj, Miss., June 1906, p. 253.

[5]Eva N. Dye, Bolenge: A Story of Gospel Triumphs on the Congo (Cincinnati: Foreign Christian Mission Society, 1913), p. 54; M.I., May 1906, p. 156.

[6]Stephen Corey, Among Central African Tribes: Journal of a Visit to the Congo Mission (Cincinnati: Foreign Christian Missionary Society, 1912), p. 61.

geography or French.

> If there be degrees in the truly elementary, ours would have been called most elementary. The real aim of the school in those earliest days was not so much to teach the native children the science of writing and reading... but rather to assist the missionary to learn enough of their spoken language to begin to teach.[1]

CBM missionaries also labeled their curriuclum "strictly elementary"[2] even after fifteen years work. Perhaps their leader well summed up the curriculum and educational results of this group of Protestant missions when he wrote in 1908 that "all have been taught at least to read and write and during the time spent on the Mission Station they were constantly under Christian influence and were daily receiving religious instruction."[3]

The textbook situation in these eight societies supports the notion that claims to a curricula more advanced than the two R's were frequently wishful thinking. Only the SHF had a text in arithmetic by 1908 and only the Redemptorists produced one in French.[4] None prepared a geography text. Moreover, in most cases, especially the Catholic missions, as with the four Catholic mission orders discussed under "oral religious instruction," the production of printed materials

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[1]Dye, p. 71.

[2]W. D. Armstrong paper in G.C.R., 1904, p. 12.

[3]Harry Grattan Guinness, Not Unto Us; A Record of Twenty-One Years' Missionary Service (London: Regions Beyond Missionary Union, 1908), p. 90.

[4]The FCMS, HGF and SHF had no French texts. While the Redemptorists did in 1907 prepare a French-Kikongo vocabulary and sentence book, like that of the Scheutists, it is difficult to decide whether it was for European or Congolese use. The writer has been unable to locate a copy.

came after a number of years of school operation in the Congo. For example, the FCMS had no textbooks until 1904.[1] Missionaries prepared typed copies of hymns and Bible materials and made reading charts (words and short sentences) with a small poster-making outfit on bristol board which they then cut out and mounted on cloth. The children copied these on pieces of broken slates.[2] The APCM Luebo station school had its first reader in Tshiluba in 1895 followed by some dozen more books before annexation, but the first book in the Bakuba language of Ibanj station was not printed until 1905.[3] This lone reader remained the staple until 1908. The WIM[4] began textbook preparation in 1902 and the GEM[5] in 1892, although they respectively

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[1]FCMS Annual Reports for 1900-01 and 1903-04, M.I., November 1901, p. 288 and November 1904, p. 412; M.I., December 1905, p. 525. The FCMS might have used texts of ABMU predecessors, but the former claimed that "little had been done in the language and that little was so imperfect that it had to be put aside." Dye, p. 54. Indeed, the ABMU missionaries at Bolenge, before the station was transferred to the FCMS, although they produced some texts in Nkundu, had decided to use BMS Bobangi-language materials. See ABMU Annual Report for 1896, B.M.M., July 1897, p. 411.

[2]Dye, p. 72; FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 412; December 1905, p. 525.

[3]Mrs. Sheppard At Ibanj, undated, Miss., April 1905, p. 162.

[4]By annexation their materials included two or three elementary-level Bible and moral stories, several Bible translations, readers, a hymnal and a catechism.

[5]By annexation the GEM had some dozen books---Bible translations, Bible stories, catechisms and hymnals. See Frederick Stanley Arnot, Bihe and Garenganze or Four Years' Further Work and Travels in Central Africa. (London: Hawkins, 1893), p. 62; G. E. Tilsley, Dan Crawford, Missionary and Pioneer in Central Africa (London: Oliphants, 1929), pp. 432-438, 464; Rev. Crawford, XII/27/99 from Luanza, E.S., June 1900, p. 173; September and October 1903, pp. 356, 474; February 1907, p. 57; January 1908, p. 15.

established their first missions in the Congo in 1897 and 1886. The CMA carried on their educational activities without producing any texts,[1] although there is evidence they used SMS Kikongo materials.[2] The English CBM was an exception to this lateness phenomena. The LIM, the CBM predecessor, had begun Scripture translations for use in their schools as early as 1882, three years after their arrival.[3]

The Redemptorists began textbook production only in 1907,[4] although they arrived in 1899 and the SHF did not produce their first catechism until 1901, after four years in the Congo.

However, unlike the previous group, the textbook production of these eight societies was more extensive in volume and generally more advanced in reading difficulty. While the several Bible translations of the FCMS[5] appear to be only at a first or second grade reading

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[1]The CMA did not begin textbook production until 1909, when they prepared alphabet cards and a primer. CMA, Annual Report for 1909, p. 170.

[2]This was quite possible in that, while each CMA central station ran a day school and several had night schools and special Bible classes, total enrollment at each station averaged only about two to three dozen right up to 1908, so their textbook needs would not have been extensive.

[3]The CBM literature situation was complicated by the fact that they worked in three languages. Of the numerous texts produced only a half dozen were available in Ileku, the principal language used at Lulanga station, while the literature in Mongo was four times that amount including the whole New Testament by 1908. See, R.B., March 1882, pp. 397-398; December 1892, p. 493; January 1909, p. 6.

[4]By the end of 1908 the Redemptorists had only three books---a primer, a prayer book and a book of graduated sentences in French-Kikongo. There is evidence that they used a reader at Tumba beginning in 1900 which could have been provided by the neighboring Jesuits. See, Father Veys to R.F. Rector of Redemptorists at Tournai, Belgium, undated, La Voix du Redempteur, janvier 1901, p. 26.

[5]In 1904 several Bible translations were printed, but the number done was small as the FCMS found the cost prohibitive before their press arrived. M.I., May 1906, p. 156.

level, the most advanced text of the APCM, a 300-page story of the Bible in Tshiluba, was at about a sixth grade reading level, although this was not produced until 1908.

The eight texts of the SHF are a good example of mission education quality in this group as measured by printed instructional materials. In 1903, when the SHF were planning to open their first regular school at Stanleyville, a SHF missionary then in Europe on furlough was instructed to arrange for the printing in Swahili of five text-books, a book of prayers, a reader, a small illustrated abridged Bible, a small religious calendar, and an arithmetic.[1] These, together with the catechism printed in 1901 and another in 1904 and a second prayer book in 1908 represented the total printed instructional materials available to their schools before annexation. The most advanced of the catechisms, readers and prayer books is none above a 4th grade reading level. The arithmetic covered the four fundamental operations (addition, subtraction, multiplication and simple division) and time telling. The most advanced reader appeared to be a translation of a European primary school text with illustrations showing castles, violins, three-story buildings, European faces and other paraphenalia of European civilization.

3. The Three R's Plus

Five school districts, the WF, BMS, SMS, ABMU and Jesuits, provided a minimum of reading, writing, arithmetic and singing to all pupils at

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[1]See Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1904, p. 92; Jeanroy, p. 19.

their central station primary schools. In addition many of these schools also offered to some pupils French, geography, Bible or church history, homiletics and frequently pedagogy and elementary physiology and hygiene.[1] Bible reading, of course, was the main and most important subject at any Protestant mission central station primary school.[2] The educational goals of central station primary schools of these societies for the "average" or non catechist-evangelist destined pupils were similar. "Our desire is that when our boys and girls leave us they shall be able to read well and write and know simple arithmetic."[3]

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[1]Svenska, pp. 11-14; Bentley, II, p. 394; H. Sutton Smith, Yakusu, the Very Heart of Africa, Being an Account of the Protestant Mission at Stanley Falls, Upper Congo (London: Carey, 1912), pp. 154-155; Margo Bentley to Baynes, VII/21/89, M.H., December 1889, p. 434; Robert Glennie at Bolobo to Baynes, V/23/91, M.H., October 1891, p. 397; J. H. Weeks at Monsembe to Baynes, undated, M.H. August 1895, p. 323; H. T. Stonelake at Monsembe, XII/8/95, M.H., April 1896, p. 172; BMS Annual Reports for 1890, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900 and 1904, M.H., May issues respectively, 1891, p. 212; 1892, p. 227; 1894, pp. 219-220; 1896, p. 269; 1898, p. 247; 1899, p. 255; 1900, p. 254; 1901, p. 272; 1905, p. 255.

[2]BMS Annual Reports for 1899 and 1904, M.H., May 1900, pp. 261-262; May 1905, p. 259; J. A. Clark of BMS, G.C.R., 1909, pp. 94-95; B.M.M., May 1890, p. 127; Rev. J.E. Broholm at Kinjila, X/20/91, B.M.M. February 1892, p. 49; Miss Bessie E. Gardner at Lukunga, IX/14/94, B.M.M., January 1895, p. 25; Joseph Clark at Ikoko, I/21/96, B.M.M., May 1896, p. 151; October 1897, p. 559; June 1899, p. 206; ABMU Annual Reports for 1891-1896, 1903, B.M.M., July 1892, pp. 313, 316; July 1893, p. 343; July 1894, p. 358; July 1895, pp. 395-396; July 1896, p. 382; July 1897, p. 408; July 1904, p. 492; Annual Report of ABMU for 1905, p. 352.

[3]Rev. and Mrs. J.R.M. Stephens from Wathen, undated, M.H., January 1905, p. 37; ABMU, WF and Jesuit curricular goals were similar. See, ABMU Annual Reports for 1901 and 1902, B.M.M., July 1902, pp. 473-475; July 1903, p. 511; Annual Report of ABMU for 1908, p. 497; Roelens to Director, Oeuvre des Missions Catholiques from Baudouinville, VIII/10/98, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juin 1899, p. 75 repeated in Missions d'Afrique des PB, juillet 1899, p. 203; Roelens at Lusaka, Missions d'Afrique des PB, septembre 1899, pp. 266-267; Roelens, IX/10/98 from Baudouinville, Missions d'Afrique des PB, février 1899, p. 63; Father Albert Smulders at Baudouinville, undated, Missions des PB, mai 1908, p. 131; Roelens, "Rapport sur la Mission du Haut-Congo," Missions des PB, avril 1900, pp. 106-108; Father C. Verbeke from Mpala,

Educational efforts varied somewhat both between stations within a society[1] and between these leading societies. For example, many in Jesuit central station primary schools were not introduced to arithmetic unless they went to the central catechist school at Kisantu,[2] while on the other hand at BMS Wathen station by 1902 the "most advanced" learned "a few fractions and some knowledge of geography and French."[3] Perhaps the curriculum in WF central station primary schools can be taken as "typical" of this group of mission orders. The first division, or beginners, learned without books the alphabet, syllables and numbers by means of a board with movable letters. The second division was given successively the small first and second elementary readers and a slate for writing. The pupils concentrated upon writing in the third division, not simply copying, but writing out lessons already memorized.

Missions des PB, février 1909, pp. 38-39; Van Hencxthoven, VIII/15/03 from Wombali, Missions belges, novembre 1903, p. 419; décembre 1903, pp. 445-446; Father Lauwers, undated, from Wombali, Missions belges, octobre 1906; pp. 370-371; Ivan de Pierpont (S.J.) et al., Au Congo et aux Indes: Les Jésuites belges aux missions (Bruxelles: Bulens, 1906), p. 64; Joseph Van Wing (S.J.), La Vingt-cinquième anniversaire de la Mission du Kwango (Bruxelles: Bulens, s.d. [1918]), p. 9; Sadin, p. 55. See also earlier descriptions such as Van Hencxthoven, XII/25/93, Précis historique, 1894, p. 231 also quoted in Sadin, p. 17; Van Hencxthoven, I/20/94, quoted in Father A. Brielman, Les Fermes-Chapelles. Rapport (Gand: Descheemancker, s.d. [1900]), p. 3; Van Hencxthoven to Provincial, IV/27/94, quoted in Laveille, p. 137.

[1]For example, Monsembe, Lukolela and Tshumbiri were forgotten step-sisters in comparison with BMS and ABMU stations at Wathen, Yakusu and Banza Manteke.

[2]Father R. Butaye, Missions belges, octobre 1903, p. 371. Superior J. Banckaert, III/12/04 from Kisantu, Missions belges, mai 1904, p. 167.

[3]Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1902, p. 68.

Elementary arithmetic was also introduced at this stage. The fourth and last group read and wrote compositions, continued arithmetic and began elementary geography and religious history.[1]

Instruction in foreign languages---French, English and Latin---was dominated by these five societies. The BMS was the leading instructor of the State's official language, French. Wathen station introduced French into the curriculum for the most advanced boys as early as 1890.[2] BMS stations at Lukola,[3] and Bolobo[4] and ABMU Lukunga and Ikoko[5] stations followed suit several years later, while Yakusu did not begin French until 1907 or 1908[6] and regular daily instruction did not begin until late 1909 when the first French-speaking missionary joined them.[7] The new joint BMS-ABMU United Training School at Kimpese

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[1]O. Ulrix, "Les oeuvres d'instruction primaire chez les missionaires d'Afrique du Haut-Congo," [Extract from IIIème Congrès Coloniale internationale, 1913] (Gand: Vanderpoorten, 1922), pp. 2-4.

[2]Bentley, BMS Annual Report for 1890, M.H., May 1891, p. 212.

[3]BMS Annual Report for 1892, M.H., May 1893, p. 220.

[4]BMS Annual Reports for 1896, 1897, 1900 and 1901, M.H., May 1897, p. 272; May 1898, p. 250; May 1901, p. 261; May 1902, p. 233; Rev. A.E. Scrivener at Bolobo, VII/15/97, M.H., October 1897, p. 513.

[5]Rev. Seymour E. Moon at Banza Manteke, B.M.M., October 1906, p. 400; ABMU Annual Reports for 1900 and 1901 from Ikoko, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 479; July 1902, p. 475. Lukunga in the heyday of Rev. Theodore Hoste began French in 1892 but then the whole educational program fizzled out. See Rev. Hope Morgan of CBM stationed at Lukunga, R.B., June 1892, p. 246.

[6]By 1908 French was included in the Teacher Institute for those who "had the appitude." See, W. Millman, M.H., August 1909, p. 251.

[7]Mr. Lambotte, the first Belgian Protestant missionary to come to the Congo. See, H. Sutton Smith, Yakusu p. 276.

(see "Advanced Training Schools" below) included two hours a week of French or Portuguese in the curriculum from the first session.[1]

On the other hand Catholic missions were reluctant to teach French, doing so only when and where it became necessary to counter Protestant educational successes. For example, the Jesuits did not introduce French to the Kisantu, Sanda and Wombali station curricula until 1906-1907.[2] Even the WF maintained there was no need for French for the prospective religious elite could move directly from Swahili to Latin, as they did beginning in 1893 when Latin was begun at their advanced training school at Mpala.[3]

Some BMS and ABMU stations began instruction in English[4] mainly because they wished to teach a world language and did not know French. The government for political reasons discouraged such endeavor and therefore by the early 1890's Protestant missions discontinued such instruction in their schools.[5] However, despite these pronouncements

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[1]Rev. Thomas Lewis, Annual Report on Kimpese, M.H., November 1909, p. 326. French instruction consisted mainly of reading and memorizing Bible Scriptures.

[2]For example, at Kisantu the upper class of 25 boys was given "a bit" of French as was the evening school for workmen. See, Father L. Sadin, I/6/07, Missions belges, mars 1907, p. 105. For Sanda details, see, Father A. Brielman, XII/28/06, Missions belges, mars 1907, p. 103 and for Wombali, see, Father de Vos, II/22/07, Missions belges, septembre 1908, p. 353.

[3]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 166

[4]M.H., October 1883, p. 348; January 1886, p. 24; BMS Annual Report for 1885, M.H., June 1886, p. 275.

[5]Bentley reported in the BMS Annual Report for 1889 that no further English would be taught at Wathen. M.H., May 1890, p. 187. See also, B.M.M., November 1891, p. 482; May 1892, p. 145; July 1894, p. 354; Guiness, The New World of Central Africa, p. 456; Smith, Yakusu, p. 276.

a handful of Africans, particularly those who served as personal assistants at both Protestant and Catholic missions, "picked up" French or English.[1]

The high level of curriculum relative to other school districts is corroborated by textbook production. Secular texts in arithmetic, French, geography, and science, few though they were, are good examples. Twelve[2] of the eighteen societies in the Congo claimed to be teaching arithmetic at least at some of their stations by 1908, but only half of these societies had arithmetic texts and with the exception of one produced by the SHF in 1903, all were products of the five leading mission societies, particularly the BMS and ABMU. None of the eleven arithmetic texts, however, went beyond the four fundamental operations, the metric system and telling time, although certain ABMU stations taught fractions[3] and Kimpese advanced to algebra, geometry and

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[1]For an example see a letter from Stephano Kaoze to WF Germain, Missions des PB, septembre 1909, p. 285. The text of a letter to Grenfell from one of his assistant steamer engineers, Masevo Luvusu, dated June 1906, is quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 70. The English is not grammatically perfect, but it is easily comprehensible. Joseph Clark of the ABMU Ikoko station reported in 1904 that his two assistants had "a very good command of English and know something of French as well." B.M.M. April 1904, p. 128. See also Bedinger, p. 127. Particularly the LIM, BMS, ABMU and APCM sent several Congolese to England and America with missionaries on furlough to learn English so they could assist in translation work. Frequently, these assistants were trained from childhood and lived with the missionary and his family.

[2]BMS, ABMU, SMS, Jesuits, WF, CBM, Redemptorists, APCM, FCMS, Kasai Scheutists, Premonstratensians at Gumbari only and the SHF at Pontierville only.

[3]ABMU Annual Report for 1901, B.M.M., July 1902, p. 475.

trigonometry.[1] The typical level in arithmetic at BMS, ABMU, and SMS station primary schools was through multiplication and long division, while the Jesuit primary school at Kisantu mentions by 1908 no more than addition and subtraction.[2]

While eight societies[3] claimed to be teaching French, the eight texts produced for such instruction were mainly the effort of the BMS. While the first French text of the BMS appeared in 1896, the Catholic missions did not provide such materials until 1906.

As for geography, science and pedagogy, such secular text production was dominated by the SMS. They began Scripture translations in 1884 turning out primers, Bible selections, religious stories, hymnals and in 1897 the whole New Testament[4] and by 1905 the entire Bible.[5] While they continued to produce this type of religious literature, after 1897 the SMS concentrated upon publishing secular texts in arithmetic, science, pedagogy and geography. These latter were at an advanced secondary reading level. The only other secular texts were prepared in 1899; a geography in Swahili by the WF[6] and Ways and

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[1]Thomas Lewis, These Seventy Years: An Autobiography (London: Carey, 1929), pp. 253-254.

[2]Pierpont, p. 64; Van Wing, p. 9; Sadin, p. 55.

[3]BMS, ABMU, FCMS, Jesuits, Redemptorists, SHF, HGF and Upper Kasai Scheutists.

[4]This was more than 500 pages. Starr, passim.

[5]Svenska, pp. 4, 14; Starr, p. 90.

[6]Starr says 1903 which appears to be in error in that WF missionaries mention it in Missions des PB, novembre 1900, p. 352 as does Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 167.

Customs in Five Countries, an account in Bobangi of the impressions of a Congolese youth who accompanied a BMS missionary to Europe.[1]

The depth of the reading program, particularly at the BMS and ABMU stations, is borne out by the difficulty of their literature. Despite the fact that the Baptists prepared a huge amount of printed literature, overwhelmingly religiously-oriented, these materials, even the earliest ones in the 1880's and 1890's, were at least at an upper primary level of difficulty and most appear even more difficult. This was true even in languages such as Teke, Ngombe and Bobangi, where volume of production was low.

The SMS and Jesuits serve as an interesting contrast particularly with regard to level of curriculum content as judged by the preparation of written materials. While the amount of reading materials produced by the SMS---a total of some two dozen books---was no where near the output of the British and American Baptists, the high quality and secularity of a sufficient number of their books substantiate SMS claims to a European-type elementary curriculum.[2] The Jesuits, however, until 1898 had but one book, a catechism of less than 20 pages.[3] Between 1898 and 1903 only five books were added, a second catechism, a primer, a prayer book, a hymnal and a selection of readings from the New

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[1]BMS Annual Report for 1899, M.H., May 1900, p. 262.

[2]In 1899 the SMS released a text on biology with elaborate cross-section drawings and in 1901 a text on world geography including detailed maps.

[3]Missions belges, janvier 1899, p. 8; juin 1902, p. 237.

Testament, the latter being the only one beyond a first or second grade reading level.[1] Finally, in 1903, twelve years after their ABMU neighbors, the Jesuits published an arithmetic text along with some dozen religious tracts, catechisms and readers,[2] but none went beyond about a third or fourth grade reading level. In 1906 a series of four graded readers appeared combining a study of environment---the village, the seasons and their relation to agriculture---and its relation to the works of God,[3] but these were little more advanced. This completed the Jesuit literary arsenal, but none of these appear to be beyond a primary school level of difficulty.

Village Schools

Station schools were frequently fed by village schools, although this was by no means a widespread organized system by 1908. Yet the calibre of village schools did effect the level of station primary schools. Thus, an examination of village school curriculum not only is important in itself but explains somewhat the variation in central

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[1]This literature is summarized in Missions belges, juin 1902, p. 237 and verified against Kervyn and Starr. The writer has examined all but the first catechism printed in 1894. The second catechism, described by the Jesuits (Missions belges, juin 1902) as "more extensive and complete" was a small 23-page booklet at no more than a second grade reading level. The primer presents little more than the alphabet, while the hymn book and prayer book appear very elemental---first or second grade reading level. Only the book of New Testament selections (90 pages) appears to be at a sixth or seventh grade reading level.

[2]One was a collection of 300 Bakongo proverbs to many of which had been added a Christian moral lesson. See, Missions belges, septembre 1903, p. 325.

[3]Missions belges, mars 1906, p. 102. The fourth one, for example, talked of Congolese doing their daily tasks and gave practical advice for improvement, derided laziness and palm-wine drinking and provided throughout practical moral advice. For example, chapter headings were How to Construct a Hut, Burn Brush, Catch Mice and Fish, Construct a Forge, Gather Rubber, Clear Land. See Father G. Hoornaert, Missions belges, novembre 1906, p. 406.

station primary schools.

The Redemptorists, MHF, Premonstratensians, Trappists and APCM[1] offered only oral religious instruction---prayers, catechism and hymn singing--- in their village outposts.[2] Seven mission societies, the Scheutists, SHF,[3] GEM, CMA, WIM, FCMS and CBM,[4] managed to attempt

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[1]The APCM frankly admitted that their village school work was limited to oral religious instruction and hymn singing for their teacher-evangelists were in most cases themselves illiterate. See Mrs. Adamson, X/16/93, from Luebo, Miss., March 1894, p. 101; J. Sieg, "Schools in Congo," from Ibanj, Miss., June 1906, pp. 254-255; J. Sieg at Ibanj, February 1907, p. 75; Althea Brown Edmiston at Luebo, Miss. January 1908, p. 18; Bedinger, p. 117. There may have been several individual exceptions (see Althea Brown, undated, from Luebo, Miss., February 1904, p. 74) but secular education, even reading, was not the rule in APCM out-stations.

[2]Missionary letters mention no secular instruction nor do later official histories. See, for example, Léon Minjauw, Les rédemptoristes belges cinquante ans au Bas-Congo 1899-1949 (Louvain: St-Alfonse, 1949), p. 33; Sept Années au Congo 1899-1906 (Bruxelles: Bulens, 1906), pp. 43-46; Premonstratensian Vice Prefect Apostolic, Father Gerard Beynen to Editor, Semaine Religieuse de Namur, VI/17/03, from Ibembo, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, octobre 1903, p. 290; Bibliothèque Norbertine, novembre-décembre 1903, p. 281; "Une visite à Tongerloo-St.-Norbert [Ibembo]," Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, janvier 1901, p. 23; Bibliothèque Norbertine, mai-juin 1904, p. 129; juillet-août 1904, p. 187; Canon P. Maguire from Amadi, I/10/04, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juillet 1904, p. 202; MHF J. Oomen, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1906, p. 175; Father Norbert, Procurer of Westmalle, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1907, p. 68 and letters from Brother Valentin at Bamania in Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, novembre 2, 1901, p. 548; mars 25, 1900, p. 280; mars 15, 1901, p. 152.

[3]V. Jeanroy, Vingt-cinq ans de Mission au Congo: histoire de la Mission des Falls, fondée et dirigée par les prêtres du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus (Bruxelles, Paris: Action Catholique and Giraudon, 1923), pp. 133-135; Father Philippe Kohl from Romée, undated, and Father Farinelle from Béni, undated, in Regne du Coeur de Jésus, février 1907, p. 19 and juin 1907, p. 83; Farinelle, XI/7/07, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, mai 1908, p. 71. At Banalya by 1906 it was the missionary himself who went out into surrounding villages twice a day and had the "children come sit in front of my small, humble hut...[where] they learned prayers and I give them some notions of arithmetic and French...I also teach them singing," Father Luc from Banalya, IX/30/06, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, janvier 1907, p. 7.

[4]CBM village schools stressed religion and hymn singing and perhaps a little reading and writing at a "very primitive" level. See, Guiness, These Thirty Years, p. 41.

to introduce the alphabet at least in some of their out-schools. In Upper Congo Scheutist out-schools by 1903, for example, "the most knowledgeable" were "able to read words composed of two letters,"[1] and at out-schools near Luluabourg in 1906[2] and somewhat earlier in the Mayumbe area[3] the alphabet and elementary reading were just being introduced, but Scheutist out-school instruction was still predominately religious.[4] Considering the limited availability of reading and writing instruction at the Scheutist central stations of Kangu, Nouvelle-Anvers, Umangi and Luluabourg, where village catechists would have had to be trained, it is unlikely that more than a handful of pupils in their village schools learned even the alphabet. Most of these societies frankly admitted a large portion of their catechists and

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[1]Father Honoré Baten to T.R.F. General in Brussels from Umangi outpost, undated, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mars 1903, pp. 68-69.

[2]Father Van der Molen to his parents from Luluabourg, I/27/06, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mai 1906, p. 147.

[3]DeCleene to Van Eetvelde, I/1/03, from Kangu, Ibid., avril 1903, p. 108.

[4]The Scheutists at Umangi were not pleased with the quality of this instruction given by the catechists in the outposts, not because of its lack of secular content, but because the catechists had insufficient religious knowledge. "These teachers can well teach prayers and the text of the catechism, but as for the explanation, they are scarcely able to venture."---Father Ar. Renier to President Oeuvre de St. Amand at the Higher Seminary of Bruges, from a catechumenat out of Umangi, III/8/06, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1906, pp. 211-212; See also Father Joseph Savels at Hemptinne to T.R.F. Superior, III/21/05, and Savels, undated, both in Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1905, p. 214 and mai 1904, pp. 102-103. DeCleene from Kangu, I/8/00, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, avril 1900, p. 98; Van Ronslé to Executive Committee, Oeuvre des Missions Catholiques au Congo, IV/4/05, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juillet 1905, p. 207.

evangelists were themselves illiterate[1] and therefore incapable of offering secular instruction in the villages. The efficacy of this secular education in the village schools of these seven mission societies is illustrated by the remarks of a SHF missionary at Béni in the eastern Congo. He reported the extent of results as a handful who could repeat prayers alone, knew several responses to the catechism and "almost all the letters of the alphabet" and even this would probably be "quickly forgotten...since they live in a pagan environment."[2]

Only five societies, the BMS, ABMU, SMS, WF and Jesuits appear to have offered a more substantial instructional program in village schools, although effort here varied widely. Besides concentrating upon religion---mainly memorization of Scriptures, prayers and catechisms---hymn singing, reading and writing in that order were given. In addition all but the Jesuits offered elementary arithmetic in some of their out-schools.[3] The Jesuits offered the meagerist program.

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[1]Corey, p. 91; Bedinger, p. 117; CMA, Annual Reports for 1899 and 1905, p. 57 and p. 23; SHF Philippe Kohl at Romée, undated, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, février 1907, p. 19. "These pious illiterates," wrote a historian of evangelists at the GEM Luanza station, "confined themselves in the Bible school and its neighbouring villages to preaching," while in some cases they were accompanied by a young assistant who gave secular instruction in reading and writing. See, Tilsley, pp. 477-478, 502.

[2]Father S. Germain, V/28/07, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, novembre 1908, pp. 147-148.

[3]The SMS and the ABMU at Banza Manteke, for example, taught at least addition. Dr. W. H. Leslie at Banza Manteke, B.M.M., January 1899, pp. 27-28; ABMU Annual Report for 1889 and 1890, B.M.M., July 1890, p. 305, July 1891, p. 318; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1906, p. 185; Svenska, pp. 11-14.

Activities at their out-posts, called ferme-chapelles, centered upon agriculture and religion, although the beginning elements of reading and writing were offered.[1] Frequently, however, such secular educational opportunities were provided only "to the most intelligent" and all ferme-chapelles did not have schools.[2] Indeed, the Jesuits report that as late as 1926 their rural schools taught no more than the elements of reading and writing.[3]

More typical of the BMS, ABMU, WF and SMS village schools was a description of a Yakusu station out-school curriculum in 1904.

> Holding a short piece of cane, Itindi [native teacher] stood at the table; and, having commanded silence, gave out a hymn...Verse by verse it was given out, repeated by the scholars, and then lustily sung. After this Itindi prayed. Then another hymn and the Catechism, each answer of which must be carefully repeated until the answer could be given the moment the question was put...The roll call is followed by a brief description of the coloured scripture picture hanging on the wall. Then to classes...Itindi takes the upper class of those who are beginning to read, and for the rest each dozen or more have some boy placed over them who has advanced a little further than those he is set to teach.[4]

The curriculum emphasis was obviously on religion and hymn singing, especially oral religious instruction and memorization of the catechism, the main secular subject being reading.[5]

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[1]Pierpont, p. 104; Brielman, pp. 13-14; Father Butaye, Missions belges, juillet 1901, p. 277.

[2]Auguste Lauwers, Missions belges, mars 1903, pp. 100-103.

[3]Laveille, p. 392.

[4]Smith, Yakusu, p. 93.

[5]Rev. George Cameron to Baynes, V/1/92 from Wathen, Rev. Ernest E. Wilford at Yakusu; Rev. A. E. Scrivener at Bolobo in M.H., August 1892, p. 345; December 1908, p. 369; August 1904, p. 406; BMS Annual Reports for 1893, 1900 and 1903, M.H., May 1894, p. 210; May 1901, p. 257; May 1904, p. 257; Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1902, p. 68; Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1908, pp. 133-138.

Advanced Training Schools

The divergence of educational effort between the 18 mission societies is most clearly seen in their provision of advanced training. Four mission societies, the WF, SMS, BMS and ABMU, were the sole school districts who provided anything which could be labelled post-primary education. Five other school districts, CBM, APCM, SHF, CMA and the Jesuits,[1] maintained schools for training a religious elite, separate from their regular station primary schools. But none of these could compare with the first four societies in extent and level of curriculum, duration of training and consistent maintenance of program standards. Eight societies, three Protestant (GEM, WIM, FCMS) and five Catholic (Scheutists, Trappists, Premonstratensians, Redemptorists and MHF) had no special advanced training schools.

The ABMU took the lead opening in 1891 the first advanced Training School for teacher-evangelists at Banza Manteke. The original six pupils concentrated upon Bible study, but their curriculum also included reading, writing, dictation, singing, church history, and later arithmetic, elementary hygiene and physiology, and theology were added. Two days a week were spent practicing evangelizing nearby villages.[2] The students in this one year program, expanded to three years by 1907,[3] were at least

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[1]Since the Belgian HGF arrived in the Congo only in mid-1907, it is unfair to characterize their educational efforts in any particular category.

[2]ABMU Annual Report for 1891, B.M.M., July 1892, p. 313; November 1891, p. 481.

[3]Annual Report of ABMU for 1907, pp. 166-167; Rev. Charles H. Harvey of Banza Manteke, G.C.R., 1907, p. 179.

literate with some two to three years of work in a village school and had also completed the two year "middle" or preparatory school held on the station. This latter began in 1899 to teach the elementary subjects, such as the three R's, geography, physiology "and a little of the natural sciences" formerly included in the Training School program. Often the three-year Training School program was done at intervals---a year of village work interspersed with a year of study.[1] In 1903 the Banza Manteke Training School was reorganized into the Lower Congo Training School serving all ABMU stations in the Lower Congo.[2] The reorganized school opened in March 1905[3] and in 1906 Rev. Seymour Moon described the curriculum as:

> "Here they must be taught how to read, and how to preach. They must be fitted to teach a good village school. As a man he must be drilled into regular habits of study and work. Promptness, orderliness, fidelity, steadfastness, industriousness, all so lacking in a marked degree, must be drilled into him in an extraordinary way."[4]

ABMU Lower Congo stations at Lukunga, Kifwa and Palabala also experimented with advanced training schools, but these were very modest

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[1]Charles H. Harvey of Banza Manteke, G.C.R., 1907, p. 179. Annual Report of ABMU for 1907, pp. 166-167; Rev. E. T. Welles at Banza Manteke, B.M.M., April 1899, p. 151; See also Henry Richards, X/14/1891 and VII/17/1894, B.M.M., January 1892, p. 26 and November 1894, p. 517; ABMU Annual Reports for 1899 and 1901, B.M.M., July 1900, p. 425; and July 1902, p. 468.

[2]ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., July 1904, p. 491.

[3]Annual Report of ABMU for 1904, p. 309.

[4]Rev. Seymour E. Moon at Banza Manteke, undated, B.M.M., May 1906, p. 183.

affairs and in the case of Lukunga[1] and Kifwa[2] they appear to have been discontinued after several years, particularly with the reorganization of the school at Banza Manteke in 1903 as a regional training school.[3]

A year after Banza Manteke station opened the first training school, the SMS began (1892) at Mukimbungu what became by 1908 one of the most intensive schools in the Congo. While instruction in the Bible was the main purpose in all their schools, the SMS regarded secular subjects as necessary to training African teachers and evangelists. It was felt "a great part of it [the Bible] is very hard to understand unless we teach other subjects besides."[4] The SMS Training School, therefore,

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[1]Lukunga began an over-ambitious plan in April 1892 to train pastors in a five year course (Theodore Hoste, II/2/92, B.M.M., June 1892, p. 174), but by 1901 the school was down to some nine students and a monthly session only. (ABMU Annual Reports for 1900 and 1901, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 472, July 1902, p. 471). While it operated, the school offered reading, writing, arithmetic, theology, Bible history, and French (Rev. Hope Morgan of CBM, stationed at Lukunga as CBM transport agent, undated, R.B., June 1892, p. 246).

[2]In 1894 Kifwa station began bringing their evangelists in each month for several days of schooling (ABMU Annual Report for 1896, B.M.M., July 1897, p. 410) but three years later this was changed to semi-annual sessions of a months instruction (ABMU Annual Report for 1899, B.M.M., July 1900, pp. 430-431). In 1897 a "little evangelical school" was begun where reading, writing and pedagogy including practice teaching were taught (ABMU Annual Report for 1897, B.M.M., July 1898, p. 444). "It is not intended for higher education, but simply to make the men truly acquainted with the teachings and doctrines of the Bible, and whatever will improve them and make them more able pastors and preachers." (ABMU Annual Report for 1899, B.M.M., 1900, p. 431).

[3]In 1906 Palabala began a "special course in Bible study" for her evangelists and teachers besides sending students to the regional Lower Congo Training School. Annual Report of the ABMU for 1906, p. 183.

[4]Paper by Rev. K. E. Laman of Mukimbungu, G.C.R., 1904, pp. 28-30. See also G.C.R., 1902, pp. 25-26.

offered geography, grammar, pedagogy, history of the church and mission, theology, physiology, simple medicine and biology as well as the three R's, religion and singing.[1] In addition to those selected for the Training School all African teachers were brought in once a month to the nearest central station for special instruction.[2]

The BMS did not operate training schools as such, but rather pioneered the development of regular short-term teacher institutes. Village school teacher-evangelists were brought in to the station to attend quarterly sessions beginning in 1897 at Wathen and in 1904 at Yakusu because of the later development of that interior station. The sessions at Wathen, initially a week but extended to two weeks in 1901, included a full day of classes in homiletics, Romanism, religion, theology, church history and singing.[3] The second week a large number of the 100 some young men attending remained for discussion of more secular subjects, such as native customs, home and village life, hygiene, social responsibilities, duties to the State, the importance of education and other aspects of "applied Christianity."[4]

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[1]Paper by Rev. Laman, G.C.R., 1904, p. 30 and G.C.R., 1902, pp. 25-26.

[2]G.C.R., 1902, p. 24.

[3]BMS Annual Reports for 1897, 1900, and 1901, M.H., May 1898, p. 243; May 1901, p. 254; May 1902, p. 233; September 1901, p. 444; Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1907, p. 62; G.C.R., 1902, p. 25.

[4]BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, p. 233; Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1902, p. 65.

At Yakusu both salaried and voluntary village teachers, who by 1908 totaled some 500,[1] attended the first ten days of classes in catechism, Bible stories, theology, homiletics, religion and hymn singing. The some 25 percent who were illiterate attended elementary classes in reading and writing under Congolese schoolmasters. Another 25 percent who were head or paid teachers remained for a months special training which included five hours daily of class in Scripture knowledge, school management, theology, the three R's and hymn singing. In 1908 French and physiology were added. On the weekends they went out to preach in nearby villages.[2] The aim was "to give our workers such knowledge as would at least give them decided advantages over those whom they had to teach."[3]

Three other BMS stations, Bolobo, Lukolela and Bopoto, also made provision for teacher training, but on a much more modest scale. Bolobo had only an evening class for young evangelists once a week beginning in 1897 where theology and homiletics were studied,[4] and Lukolela, when European missionaries returned in 1903, began a special class on the station for training evangelists and Christians living in villages.

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[1]Stapleton report quoted in Smith, pp. 238-257; articles by William Millman, J. Osborne Kempton, H. Sutton Smith, E.E. Wilford and Kenred Smith in M.H., January 1906, pp. 12-13; June 1906, p. 147; November 1906, p. 333; March 1907, p. 92; March 1908, p. 91; March 1909, p. 81.

[2]Stapleton, M.H., November 1904, pp. 556-557; Rev. William Millman, M.H., January 1906, p. 13; Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1908, p. 56.

[3]Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1905, p. 49.

[4]BMS Annual Report for 1897, M.H., May 1898, pp. 250-252.

This was held for short periods on an irregular basis and ended in 1911 when Lukolela was abandoned as a central station.[1] Bopoto held its first "summer school" for African evangelists in 1905,[2] although they do not seem to have continued on a regular basis even though there were more than 40 village schools with some 2,000 pupils.

More elaborate plans for providing advanced training for evangelists were undertaken by the Protestant missions in 1906 both for the Lower and Upper Congo. In July in the Lower Congo the BMS, ABMU and SMS began talks for establishing a United Congo Evangelical Training Institution at Kimpese. The Institution would also accept several pupils from CMA missions,[3] but none were sent to the first session when the Institution opened in 1908. Moreover, just before Kimpese opened, the SMS withdrew and so the new training school for the first years was an effort of the American and British Baptists.[4]

This Institution at Kimpese was the most advanced Protestant school in the Congo[5] and would remain so until independence in 1960. The first

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[1] Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1908, p. 54; Reynolds, p. 28.

[2] Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1905, p. 50.

[3] Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1907, p. 56.

[4] The SMS finally joined in 1937 and provision was also made for students from any Protestant mission to enter. See G.C.R., 1907, p. 148; Reynolds, pp. 51-53.

[5] With the opening of Kimpese the ABMU Lower Congo Training School at Banza Manteke was discontinued. Annual Report of the ABMU for 1908, pp. 124-125.

curriculum in 1908[1] of the three-year program included Bible studies, homiletics, mathematics (a combination of algebra, geometry, trigonometry and arithmetic), elementary science, physical geography, particularly of Israel and the Congo, astronomy, public speaking, French, Portuguese[2] and pedagogy including practice teaching in the station primary school.[3] The level of instruction was relatively high. In 1910 the applied mathematics course for senior men (8 who had been part of the first group of 19 men) was described as follows:

> We began with a little algebra and geometry, and later simple problems in trigonometry... Very soon I found that they were keenly interested, for once a week we did field work with the prismatic compass. I had drilled them well in the solution of right-angled triangles, and we made this the basis of a survey of the country immediately around. Each one worked at a map of his own, and each day's work was checked and corrected from a map of mine which I worked out carefully with a theodolite. In six months time I was quite convinced that given the same opportunity these men could easily hold their own with any white boy.[4]

Also in 1906 BMS missionaries at Yakusu obtained permission from the BMS Committee in London to construct a permanent Native Training

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[1]Although the students arrived in early 1908 to help with construction, regular classes did not begin until March 1909. The first short and experimental session lasted only four months with only two hours' instruction each morning.

[2]Students were also sent by the BMS station at San Salvador, Portuguese Angola.

[3]Rev. Thomas Lewis [first principal], M.H., January 1908, pp. 19-20; ABMU Annual Report for 1908, pp. 124-125; B.M.M., September 1909, p. 332. The first Annual Report of the new school appeared in M.H., November 1909, pp. 326-328; Thomas Lewis, These Seventy Years, pp. 231-255.

[4]Lewis, These Seventy Years, pp. 253-254.

Institute at Yakusu[1] for the planned school at Kimpese was both too distant (as far from Yakusu as London from Istanbul) and used a language of instruction, Kikongo, completely unknown to pupils from the Yakusu area.[2] The new Teacher Institute building was completed in April 1908 and the first group of 50-60 entered later in the year for a two to three month program of religion, Bible studies, the three R's and school methodology and organization.[3]

Along with Kimpese and Mukimbungu the other most advanced school in the Congo by 1908 was the Catechist School and seminaries of the WF at Mpala.[4] The WF were the only mission society to offer the equivalent of secondary education, indeed, the beginning of higher learning in the Congo. Students at the Catechist School followed a six-year program (usually a three year curriculum repeated once) followed by a two-year practice teaching internship at a central station school under the immediate supervision of a European missionary. Pupils "graduated" only after marriage.[5] An intensive course in religion led the curriculum at

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[1]M.H., January 1907, p. 18. See also Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1906, p. 57.

[2]Smith, pp. 258-262, 280.

[3]Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1908, p. 56.

[4]In 1905 the school was moved to Lusaka because of the sleeping sickness epidemic. See Roelens, "Rapport sur la Mission du Haut-Congo, 1904-05," Missions des PB, janvier 1906, p. 5.

[5]Roelens, "L'Evangelisation au Congo," Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, décembre 1903, p. 332; Roelens report extracts, Missions des PB, juillet 1904, p. 194 and juin 1905, p. 170; Father A. Huys to Father Van den Bosch, professor at the Lower Seminary of Roulers, XII/28/97, from Mpala and Roelens, Missions d'Afrique des PB, juin 1898, pp. 165-167 and novembre 1899, p. 346.

Mpala covering "the catechism, explained, reasoned and rendered practical, and history of the church. Added to this in order to train judgment and broaden their ideas is a complete course in arithmetic, several notions of cosmography, geography, etc. The whole is crowned by a theoretical and practical course in pedagogy."[1] Also included was Swahili grammar.[2]

When the Cathechist School was begun in 1894 its director, Father Huys, received permission to begin the study of Latin with the best pupils as an experiment toward the possible training of African priests. The experiment was successful---the African could learn Latin---so in January 1899 a Lower Seminary section was appended to the program at Mpala recruiting the "youngest and most intelligent" from the Catechist School.[3] In addition to Latin the course involved more church history, arithmetic and geography.[4]

Each year after 1899 some half dozen new pupils entered the Lower Seminary and by 1904 there were two who wanted to continue on into a higher seminary program as final preparation for the priesthood. They were given individual tutoring in philosophy and theology and in 1906 were joined by other Lower Seminary graduates in a provisional Higher

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[1]Extract of reports by Roelens, Missions des PB, juin 1905, p. 170 and novembre and décembre 1907, pp. 336, 359-361.

[2]WF Bruno Schmitz, IX/16/97 diary entry, Missions d'Afrique des PB, juin 1898, p. 170.

[3]Father A. Huys to Mgr. Livinhac, Superior General of WF, Missions d'Afrique des PB, novembre 1899, p. 324. See also Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 166.

[4]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 167.

Seminary program. The regular Higher Seminary was inaugurated in 1911 and the first Congolese priest was ordained in 1917.[1]

Of the other five school districts which maintained advanced schools by 1908 the most surprising group was undoubtedly the Jesuits, who did nothing in post-primary education in the Congo before "ordered" by the Pope in the 1920's. Traditionally noted for their leadership in secondary education, they did not even begin the preparation of a local clergy. An experiment was begun in February 1896[2] with the creation of a Lower Seminary at Kimwenza[3] three years after the similar experiment had been begun by the WF in the eastern Congo. But unlike the WF seminary, which succeeded and flourished and led to the introduction of higher religious education in 1906 and the first Congolese priest in 1917, the Jesuit attempt was abandoned after a year's trial as being "premature"[4] and

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[1]Kaoze was ordained the first Congolese priest in 1917. Also a Congregation of Black Sisters was formed at Baudouinville in 1912, called the Sisters of St. Joseph. See, Roelens, "Rapport de la Mission du Haut-Congo 1903-04," Missions des PB, octobre 1904, p. 295; Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, pp. 10, 166-189.

[2]Laveille, p. 177; Van Wing, p. 9.

[3]Kimwenza, just outside the present city of Leopoldville, was operated between 1893 and 1901 as a state school colony, under the 1890 Education Act, although the Jesuits also carried on regular religious activities.

[4]The Lower Seminary, begun with five boys by Father Liagre, taught Latin with the idea that some of the boys might "if God called them" become priests. Liagre, disappointed both by the reduction in size of Kimwenza and the general down-grading of education by Van Hencxthoven, had offered to take from Kisantu five young men chosen on the basis of ability and character. The five young men were sent to Kimwenza, after Van Hencxthoven approved the program, and were separated from the children in the State school colony. They spent most of their day in study with only minimal manual labor. Despite the enthusiasm of Father Liagre and the time he spent in teaching them, it was concluded by the Jesuit management that "it was not sufficient to make of young people scarcely taken out of savage life, the elect of the sanctuary. After a year of efforts they decided the project was 'premature' and relegated

was not undertaken again until 1922 and then in response to the wish of the Pope.[1]

The most advanced Jesuit school before annexation was the central catechist school, or école normale as it came to be called, at Kisantu added to the station primary school in 1901.[2] Elementary literacy was the only academic requirement for entry to the Kisantu central school, and the secular curriculum differed little from that of the primary school---the three R's and singing.[3] However, church history was added and "all these children learn in addition to serve at Mass, to make the sacrist, to preside at religious assemblies by the recitation of the chapelet, litanies, the way of the cross, etc."[4] The upper class in the primary school, then for the training of catechists, is described just before the central school was made separate, as: "All those who know how to read any and all passages of their author, write well, compose letters and do the four operations of arithmetic receive their diplome de capacité. From then on they only await a vacant place or the foundation of a new ferme-chapelle in order to become launched themselves [as catechists] in the civilizing movement."[5]

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to a later era the development of a native clergy." Laveille, p. 177. Of the five boys who had been young seminarists, four became "excellent Christians" and the most intelligent pupil became "one of the best catechists of the region."

[1]A Lower Seminary for prospective priests was opened at Lemfu. See Laveille, p. 393.

[2]Van Hencxthoven, undated, Missions belges, décembre 1901, p. 471. A catechist school was not added to the station school at Wombali until 1926. See Laveille, p. 391.

[3]R. Butaye, Missions belges, octobre 1903, p. 363.

[4]Father Butaye, X/10/02, Missions belges, février 1903, p. 73

[5]Brielman, Missions belges, février 1901, pp. 60-61.

The efforts of the other societies in this group were less spectacular and on a much smaller scale, but their curriculum varied little from that of the Jesuits. The SHF claimed to have by 1905 in addition to the regular station schools separate catechist schools at Basoko and Romee. The CMA at Kinkonzi (1906), the APCM at both their stations (1904) and the CBM at Bongandanga (1907) also claimed to have begun special teacher-evangelist training schools by 1908. But the secular curriculum in none of these mission district schools went beyond elements of reading and writing, the main emphasis being upon religious practices, such as memorization of cants for Mass[1] or "practice in conducting [religious] meetings."[2] For example, curriculum of the five week CMA training school for evangelists at Kinkonzi was described as:

> Sin, Salvation from Sin, Saviour of Sinners, Repentence from Sin and Prayer. Each lesson was written upon a board and copied by the students. Each paragraph was explained and discussed, after which the class was questioned. At some of the sessions written questions which had been sent in were answered. These were also copied into notebooks for future reference.[3]

Frequently these schools were not held regularly,[4] nor did they enroll

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[1]Father Massman to T.R.F. Jeanroy, Procurer of the Mission in Belgium, I/5/09, from Basoko, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, avril 1909, p. 52; See also Father Hermann Joseph Kohl to Canon Leroy, undated, from Romée, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 237.

[2]R.B., November 1907, p. 312.

[3]CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 145.

[4]The CBM tried to bring in evangelists every two months for several weeks of special instruction but this did not occur regularly. The APCM announced special weekly training classes beginning in 1904, but nothing is reported of them again. No organized training seminary with any sort of entrance requirements was organized until 1913. See, APCM Annual Report for 1904, Miss., May 1905, p. 212; Bedinger, p. 63.

more than a handful of pupils.[1] Also the depth and consistency of this teacher training is questionable.

Girls Education

Most of the comments on curriculum which have been made above apply only to boys and men. Education for girls and women lagged significantly behind that provided males. Generally, it was the Protestant missions who provided the most secular study opportunities to girls because of the religious necessity for Bible reading. Most Protestant stations, but only 20 of the 56 Catholic central stations, accepted girls.[2] But half the Catholic orders (six in toto) who offered training

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[1]There were, for example, some 40 pupils at Basoko by annexation (Massman to Jeanroy, I/5/09, from Basoko, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, avril 1909, p. 52), about two dozen at Romée (Kohl to Leroy, from Romée, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 237), and a like number at the CMA Bible course at Kinkonzi (CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 145).

[2]In 1908 there were six sisterhoods assisting the Catholic missionaries in the Congo at some 20 central stations. The Sisters of Charity from Ghent served four Scheutists' central stations, Moanda in the Lower Congo and Lusambo, Luluabourg and Luebo in the Kasai and the Redemptorists at Kinkanda. The Franciscan Sisters from Gooreind (in Antwerp Province) worked with the Scheutists at Boma, Leopoldville and Nouvelle-Anvers and with the SHF at St. Gabriel and Stanleyville. The Sisters of the Holy Heart of Mary (Soeurs du Saint Coeur de Marie) from Berlaer (near Lierre, Belgium) assisted the Premonstratensians at Ibembo and Amadi. The Trappistine Sisters (Soeurs de Précieux Sang) worked with the Trappists at Bamania and Mpaku. The White Sisters worked with the WF at three of their posts in the eastern Congo, Baudouinville, Mpala and Kasongo. Finally, the Sisters of Notre-Dame served three Jesuit posts, Kisantu, Nlemfu and Sanda. For general details, the most comprehensive, if sanguine, treatment is by Abbot Joseph Dewit, "La Religieuse missionaire au Congo belge," Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1910, pp. 5-22; juin 1910, pp. 45-61; septembre 1910, pp. 93-103; décembre 1910, pp. 133-144. See also Corman, p. 40 and Richon, p. 22.

opportunites for girls, the Trappists, the Premonstratensians, and the SHF, appear to have provided no secular instruction for girls,[1] simply religion and domestic skills.

Indeed, girls education at both Protestant and Catholic missions centered upon religion and domestic skills---sewing, mat weaving, knitting, crocheting, ironing, laundering, cooking, and vegetable gardening. The Protestants emphasized sewing and oral telling and repeating of Bible stories together with hymn singing, while the Catholic missions added practical agricultural labor and frequently the fabrication of products for commercial sale such as clothing.

The most advanced secular curricula for girls at central station primary schools, such as those of the BMS and WF stations, included reading, writing, and even some arithmetic, but this was not the usual case even for Protestant stations. Such instruction at these leading stations took at the most two hours a day as late as 1908.[2]

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[1]Regne du Coeur de Jésus, avril 1906, p. 60; Jeanroy, Vingt-cinq ans de Mission au Congo, p. 25; Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls, p. 20; Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, avril 1905, p. 127; juin 1910, p. 49; juin 1907, p. 68; Sister Arnoulde, Superior of Trappistines to Abbot of Westmalle, X/16/00, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, juin 2, 1901, p. 284.

[2]See letters and annual reports in the following missionary journals and books: M.H., July 1894, p. 310; May 1895, p. 225; April 1896, p. 172; May 1897, p. 272; May 1898, p. 250; May 1900, p. 259; May 1901, p. 269; May 1902, pp. 238, 242; February 1905, p. 77; May 1905, p. 255 and Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1902, pp. 78-79; for 1905, p. 51 and for 1906, pp. 51-55. B.M.M., January 1888, p. 22; July 1890, p. 306; July 1892, p. 315; April 1893, p. 112. E.S., February 1900, p. 47. Missions des PB, juin 1900, pp. 154-155; novembre 1900, p. 336; juillet 1906, p. 226 and Missions d'Afrique des PB, décembre 1898, p. 356. Miss., June 1906, p. 258; October 1907, p. 483 and Kassai Herald, April 1906, p. 22 and January 1909, p. 11. M.I., November 1908, p. 486. Bedinger, p. 57; Svenska, p. 11 and Guiness, The New World of Central Africa, p. 457.

The Jesuit attitude toward girls' education is perhaps typical of Catholic missions. The Sisters of Notre-Dame at each of three Jesuit stations opened an orphange for girls, a workshop for making clothes (for sale in this case), and a school for the orphans as well as local girls from the surrounding neighborhood who came daily to the station.[1] As the other Catholic stations, the teaching of religious obligations---prayers and catechism---and household skills were the main functions of these girls' schools with manual labor a required extra-curricular activity. Girls, some as young as four or five, repaired dwellings and helped in building construction[2] illustrating both the utilitarian nature of such training as well as its religious purpose which was well described by a missionary in 1907: "Our pensionnat for girls is thus a large home economics school. It is not as complicated as the home economics schools of Europe, but the ideal to be reached is the Congolese home, the wife of the Congolese home."[3] Elementary instruction in the three R's[4] for girls at Jesuit central

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[1]Missions belges, April 1907, p. 155; Mouvement des missions catholiques au Congo, mars 1910, p. 21.

[2]Missions belges, mai 1899, p. 187; octobre 1899, pp. 398, 403; avril 1900, pp. 138, 143-144; février 1902, p. 64; juillet 1902, pp. 257-258; mai 1903, p. 190; octobre 1905, p. 405; and septembre 1907, pp. 328-329.

[3]"Un ami de mission" in an article about Nlemfu in Missions belges, septembre 1907, p. 328.

[4]Missions belges, novembre 1899, p. 427; avril 1900, p. 146; mai 1901, p. 188; juin 1901, p. 217; janvier 1902, p. 34; août 1902, p. 298; juillet 1903, p. 272; décembre 1903, p. 445 and février 1905, p. 84.

stations was purely voluntary, contrary to some later accounts which implied otherwise.[1] "We don't force them to learn to read, but of their own desire many of the girls ask to follow the morning class devoted to reading and writing."[2] Indeed, reading and writing was even regarded by some Jesuit missionaries as dangerous for girls: "To learn to read and write is usual for all our boys. But the majority of our female savages have none of it and it is reported even that certain ones, who have learned to read, neglect the care of their homes."[3] For years after annexation this emphasis in girls education remained. A teaching brother in the Jesuit district wrote in 1914 that girls education, like that for boys, must be "a simple education impregnated with the Christian religion as the base and the support of all education."[4]

But the actual depth and extent of secular education of girls, even on the Lower Congo and by the British and American Baptists, evidently did not progress far. For example, of the 14 women including wives accepted in the first class in 1908 at Kimpese, the most advanced school in the Lower Congo, only five could read, write or sew.[5] The

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[1]Pierpont, p. 88.

[2]Sister Theresa at Kisantu to Rev. Mother General, IV/16/03, Missions belges, juillet 1903, p. 246. See similar comment by Sister Superior Ignatia de la Croix at Kisantu to Rev. Mother General at Namur, X/29/04, Missions belges, février 1905, p. 84.

[3]Missions belges, septembre 1907, p. 328.

[4]Gabriel, p. 18.

[5]George Hawker, An Englishwoman's Twenty-Five Years in Tropical Africa (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911) pp. 315-324.

curricula here for girls being prepared to become wives of evangelists was probably the most advanced girls' education in the Congo in 1908. They attended classes three-and-a half hours daily divided as follows: two hours in the morning in "Old and New Testament, history of the Bible, natural history, simple hygiene and physiology, cleanliness, prevention of disease" and "object lessons" with "paper, cloth, slates, glass." An hour and a half in the afternoon was devoted to the three R's, elements of geography, including the compass and maps of Palestine and the Congo, and finally sewing, taught while the schoolmistress read Bible stories aloud. On Friday mornings the women received "a series of talks on the Christian life, taking as subjects love, truth, purity, thankfulness, joy, peace, temperance, prayer."[1]

Neither faith offered much in the way of organized education---secular or religious---at the village level, largely because catechists' and evangelists' wives were unable to provide it and because the Catholics in particular did not allow males to conduct girls' schools.[2]

Vocational Education

While secular curricula varied significantly between mission school districts, similiarity in mission educational effort is most evident in vocational education. Vocational education in the sense of improving skills was provided from the beginning of missionary activity in the Congo by most societies, but only to a very few young men. What was frequently called industrial training was simply practical manual labor.

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[1]Ibid., p. 324.

[2]See, for example, Ulrix, p. 3.

For example, most mission stations, whether they had boarding schools and orphanges or not, required African pupils, both males and females, to perform maintenance chores about the station, usually as payment for board, room, clothing and tuition.[1]

The Catholic missions uniformly required agricultural labor from all adults and children living on their stations. On WF stations, which were typical in this respect, men worked seven hours a day and women and children five.[2] However, Catholic mission agricultural work was not designed to improve methods, but merely to provide the manual labor necessary to produce adequate food. The Protestant missions relied only in some cases upon such agricultural labor, largely because most Protestant stations did not maintain large boarding schools and few had orphanages where food production became a necessity. The work at Protestant stations was, therefore, more general. Yakusu school chores, described in 1904 are typical:

> Some sweep up the roads, weed gardens, hew wood, and draw water, some work in the brickyard or at the kiln, some are building, some tailoring, some learning carpentry under a carpenter from Accra, some tending the sheep and goats, some learning printing, and some dispensing simple medicines.[3]

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[1]See letters and annual reports in M.H., Robert Glennie to Baynes, V/23/91 from Bolobo, October 1891, p. 397; John Bell to Baynes from Wathen, undated, February 1896, p. 71; Miss de Hailes to Baynes from Wathen, X/1/95, March 1896, p. 117; May 1902, pp. 233, 244; May 1904, p. 257; William Millman from Yakusu, undated, February 1905, p. 72; Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1905, p. 57; for 1908, p. 53; Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, pp. 227; 394-396; Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, pp. 268, 368; Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 427. B.M.M., July 1894, p. 354; January 1901, p. 15; July 1902, p. 475; July 1903, p. 510; and Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, p. 352.

[2]Roelens, Extract of "La Question Sociale au Congo," Missions des PB février, 1900, pp. 50-51.

[3]W. Millman, "School Work at Yakusu," M.H., February 1905, p. 71.

Most mission stations, however, both Protestant and Catholic, as the above quotation implies, trained artisans---brickmakers, bricklayers, masons, gardeners, carpenters, joiners, sawyers, cooks, tailors---while Protestant stations also turned out blacksmiths, steamer mechanics, river pilots, steersmen, sailors, printers, bookbinders, and typesetters. These were trained, however, only in limited numbers to satisfy the building and maintenance requirements of each station. The evidence is overwhelming both from missionary statements[1] and from the fact that very few pupils out of each total station school enrollment received vocational training---just those sufficient for mission needs.[2] For

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[1] BMS: Annual Reports for 1895, 1897, 1898, 1901, 1903, M.H., May 1896, p. 269, May 1898, p. 247, May 1899, pp. 255, 264; May 1902, p. 244, May 1904, p. 257; Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, pp. 227, 237; Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 427; Smith, Yakusu, pp. 78-79, 196; SMS: Svenska, p. 14. CBM: R.B., December 1901, p. 336; W. D. Armstrong of Bonginda, G.C.R., 1904, p. 12, FCMS: FCMS Annual Report for 1902-1903, 1907-1908, M.I., December 1903, p. 405, November 1908, p. 487, TRAPPISTS: Brother Boniface to Abbot of Westmalle from Bamania, II/2/96, Messager de Notre Dame du Sacré-Coeur, août 7, 1896, p. 267; Father Norbert, Procurer of Trappist Mission, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, octobre 1905, p. 299; Norbert to Treasurer General, Oeuvre des Missions Catholiques au Congo, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1907, p. 68. PREMONSTRETENSIANS: Maurice Gaspar, Les Premontrés de Tongerloo au Congo (Louvain: Smeesters, 1905), p. 54. A visitor described Ibembo in 1904 as "300 natives, mostly children, are engaged in the plantations and gardens, all being dressed in a pretty uniform... In a well-fitted carpenter's shop the entire furniture for the chapel and houses has been made." Marcus Dorman, A Journal of a Tour in the Congo Free State (Brussels: Lebèque, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905), pp. 160-161. ABMU: Annual Report for 1891, 1892, 1895, 1896, B.M.M., July 1892, pp. 315-316; July 1893, p. 343; July 1896, p. 382; July 1897, pp. 404, 408; and June 1899, p. 206. WF: WF Engels in Bethune, Revue générale, 1903, p. 327. SCHEUTISTS: Father Cambier, X/10/92, from Luluabourg, Missions en Chine et au Congo, avril 1893, p. 236.

[2] The state and private companies were eager to employ skilled Congolese artisans and frequently were willing to cooperate financially with the missions in order to encourage this type of training. The majority of mission orders, however, showed little interest in, if not outright antagonism to, such overtures. For further discussion, see pp. 257-270 below.

example, at Bolobo it was reported that about 40 pupils participated in on-the-job training in 1896 as mechanics, blacksmiths, carpenters, sawyers, brickmakers, masons, typesetters and bookbinders. But the average attendance at the station school during this same year was four times that number.[1] The same was true at FCMS, SHF, and ABMU missions. At Bolenge, out of a total enrollment of 100 in the station day school in 1905, there were only 15 boys being trained as carpenters and sawyers.[2] At the SHF station at Saint Gabriel near Stanleyville in 1902, five years after the station was founded, there was only a handful of Africans being trained---12 apprentice carpenters and joiners[3]---yet at this same time several hundred children lived on the station.[4] At the SHF Romée school in 1905 there were 30 pupils who were being trained as artisans (sawyers, brickmakers, gardeners)[5] out of a total station school enrollment of some 350 pupils.[6] At the ABMU Leopoldville school in 1892, out of a total enrollment of 50, only five boys were being taught vocational subjects in this case household skills of ironing, sewing, laundering, and child care.[7]

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[1] BMS Annual Report for 1896, M.H., May 1897, p. 271.

[2] FCMS Annual Report for 1905-06, M.I., November 1906, p. 417.

[3] Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls, pp. 14, 20.

[4] In May 1898 there were 200 children at St. Gabriel---see, Superior Gabriel Grison to friend, X/17/98 from St. Gabriel, Mouvement Anti-esclavagiste, février 1899, p. 26. In March 1904 there were 600 children at St. Gabriel---see Jeanroy, ibid., p. 20. The SHF had requested financial aid from benefactors in Belgium in 1901 to build a school at Stanleyville in order to prepare "valuable auxiliares for the State and railway company." See, Jeanroy, ibid., p. 20.

[5] Father Hermann Joseph Kohl to Canon Leroy, President of the Grand Seminary of Liège, undated, from Romée, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 237.

[6] Regne du Coeur de Jésus, janvier 1906, p. 4.

[7] Rev. F. C. Gleichman, XI/12/92 from Leopoldville, B.M.M., March 1893, p. 83. Dr. Aaron Sims put the point frankly several years later: "as work of various kinds has got to be done, we believe it pays to

From the above comments it is obvious mission needs were varied. All were in the midst of constructing their stations so that carpenters, sawyers, masons and brickmakers especially were constantly in demand. Those stations with hundreds of children resident, such as Catholic stations with orphanages, needed agricultural labor to care for their huge fields and plantations, necessary for the feeding of these children. At Protestant stations in particular young men were needed to man the steamers and work the presses. Such stations trained Congolese with much success. Grenfell reported as early as 1893 that "the mission steamer...is engineered and manned entirely by Congo people."[1] Indeed, by the time of Grenfell's death in 1906 the two BMS steamers were capable of running solely under an African crew and the older of them, the SS Peace, was captained by a Congolese.[2] All the Protestant presses were worked by African staffs and all report teaching typesetting, printing, proofreading, and bookbinding.[3] But only a small number of young men at each station had such training. For example, the entire staff of the CBM press included only five

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teach a certain number [italics added] the elements of trade, instead of using coast labor which costs the society dearly..." See, ABMU Annual Report for 1894, B.M.M., July 1895, pp. 395-396.

[1]Grenfell to Dr. Denis, III/28/95 from Bolobo quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 394.

[2]Hawker, ibid., p. 571; Kenred Smith at Bolobo, M.H., March 1908, p. 86.

[3]Dye, pp. 23, 83; A. F. Hensey at Bolenge, M.I., May 1906, p. 156; Grenfell at Leopoldville, X/4/1884 and Grenfell at Bolobo, VII/19/98, quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, pp. 213; 460; Bentley in BMS Annual Report for 1890, M.H., May 1891, p. 212; J.H. Weeks at Underhill, III/11/90, M.H., July 1890, p. 266; BMS Annual Report for 1892, M.H., May 1893, p. 221; ABMU Annual Reports for 1891, 1892, 1900 and 1902; B.M.M., July 1892, p. 314; July 1893, p. 343; July 1901, p. 471; July 1903, p. 509; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, p. 348; Guiness, Not Unto Us, p. 89.

compositors and four bookbinders.[1]

The CMA, WIM and GEM report no extensive activities in vocational education even in connection with station needs.[2] All three stressed missionary itineration and frowned upon central station development. The CMA training school at Kinkonzi had no agricultural or industrial training, the young men spending their out-of-class hours in itinerating instead.[3] It is hard to see how the GEM avoided industrial education as Crawford's goal was to develop a self-contained, self-supporting "model" African town beside the mission with broad tree-lined streets with two-room "cottages" neatly and sanitarily built by the Africans themselves.[4] The GEM also had a sailing schooner on Lake Mweru using an African crew, but again no sustained effort was made to upgrade or increase their technical skills.[5]

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[1]Starr, p. 97.

[2]Information on WIM is lacking. They published no journal and were the only Protestant society to refuse to attend the General Conference meetings or to send statistics and information on their activities.

[3]Rev. A. R. Williams of CMA, G.C.R., 1907, p. 178.

[4]Crawford from Luanza, XI/2/08, E.S., March 1909, p. 96. The villages, with the Bible school as nucleus, were described as "a new type of long-street hamlet, neat little square houses with a Scotch 'butt and ben,' and in general a change for the better in the vital concern of sanitation." Crawford from Luanza, XII/25/05, E. S., May 1906, p. 176.

[5]One missionary, Thomas Higgins, at Luanza evidently taught several boys carpentering and his wife sewing to both boys and girls in 1899-1900, but this was evidently his own personal interest for after he and his wife died the activity was not continued. See Higgins at Luanza, undated, and Mrs. Higgins at Luanza, X/12/00, E.S., August 1899, p. 254 and May 1901, p. 176.

The only mission school district which made agricultural education, as well as agricultural work, part of the curriculum for all students was that of the Jesuits. Indeed, the primary secular emphasis of their whole operation in the Congo was commercial agriculture for economic reasons, although they, too, as did all missions, found spiritual reasons later to justify it publically. While most mission central stations had vegetable gardens and kept small farm animals, the Jesuits undertook commercial agriculture on a grand scale. The center of the system was Kisantu, described as "a vast modern abbey in the midst of an immense tropical park."[1] The park referred to the famous experimental botanical gardens[2] and huge surrounding plantations and orchards in which European plants were adapted to local conditions, and seeds, plants, breeding stock and agricultural ideas and advice were dispensed to the other central stations who in turn doled them out to the catechist-foremen of their dependent ferme-chapelles.

The key to this whole system of commercial agriculture in small units of children was the African catechist, who not only carried out religious and in some cases educational functions, but served as the farm foreman. Since there were so many small farms at quite a distance from the central stations, supervision was infrequent. Therefore, the financial success of the operation was dependent upon the skill of the African catechist-foreman. The training of catechists, centered at

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[1]Laveille, p. 390. Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, described it as a medieval Benedictine abbey. See "Les missions au Congo belge," La grande Revue [Paris], janvier 10, 1911, p. 10.

[2]The Jesuit Botanical Gardens became so famous they were regularly visited in later years by tourists as one of the central points of interest and beauty in the colony.

Kisantu, took the form largely of on-the-job training in practical agriculture.[1] It differed from other central stations in that the catechists learned the cultivation of new European crops and beef cattle as well as the management of plantation-type agriculture, rather than simply carrying on traditional agriculture.

But it was not only in commercial agricultural education that the Jesuits varied markedly. Kisantu was not only a vast abbey with gardens and plantations, but soon "a real industrial city" with its own well-equipped tannery, brewery, cigar and cigarette, shoe and furniture factories,[2] and print shop which prepared products for use by the mission and for sale to Europeans.[3] These, of course, all required endless construction, maintenance and operation. There was thus opportunity to learn a variety of trades, but these apprenticeships, as at other missions, were strictly limited to the needs of the mission itself.[4]

DURATION OF SCHOOLING

The length of time schools operated---both the number of hours of instruction daily and the number of months or years' duration---illustrates in part the depth of educational effort. This duration of

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[1]Pierpont, p. 46; Father Sadin to Provincial, undated, Missions belges, avril 1905, p. 166.

[2]Van Hencxthoven, I/6/02, from Kisantu, Missions belges, mars 1902, p. 119; Van Wing, p. 24.

[3]Sadin, p. 60.

[4]Van Hencxthoven, VIII/31/00, Missions belges, février 1901, pp. 78-79; Van Hencxthoven XII/28/01, Missions belges, mars 1902 p. 114; Sister Ignatia de la Croix, Sister Superior at Kisantu, XII/27/01, Missions belges, mars 1902, p. 118.

schooling should not be confused with the hundreds of orphan children and liberated adults who frequently spent years at a Catholic mission station---but not in school. Nor should one assume that the following comments imply that these early schools all operated with regularity during the times indicated.

The same societies which dominated curricular efforts ran their schools the longest period of time. But here again there is an exceptionally wide variation among the leaders. By 1908 a young man in the WF school district had the opportunity to participate in at least 15 years of progressively more difficult schooling---three to four years in a village and/or central station school, a minimum of four years in the central catechist school at Mpala, then six years in the Lower Seminary capped by at least three years in the Higher Seminary.

The SMS, BMS and ABMU programs were far more modest and the Jesuit program the very least pretentious of the five leaders. The BMS,[1] ABMU,[2] and SMS[3] managed a cumulative total of some six years of schooling divided between their village and central station primary schools ending at the advanced training schools of Kimpese or

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[1]Wathen involved a program of three to four years.

[2]The Banza Manteke station primary school lasted at least a year followed by the two-year "advanced" or preparatory middle school, then the three-year Training School which was closed in 1908 with the opening of the three-year program at Kimpese.

[3]Since SMS stations required pupils at the Training School to have already passed through a village and central station primary school, probably pupils who completed the three-year Training School at Mukimbungu had had perhaps six years of schooling. The Mukimbungu program consisted of 2 terms annually of three months each. Instruction was intensive---six hours a day, for unlike Kimpese, little attention was given vocational work. Students left the program after two years for several years teaching experience before returning to complete the final year.

Mukimbungu. This is not to imply that all stations of these societies maintained these standards. At Yakusu pupils normally remained only two or three years[1] and by 1909 the longest a pupil had stayed on the station was still only three years.[2] Other BMS stations primary schools were even shorter.

In contrast the Jesuits were pleased that they kept a few students at the Kisantu primary and central school at the most a total of three years, but this was considered unusual, although welcomed by the missionaries.[3] Since children were fairly uniformly held two-and-a half to three years on the ferme-chapelles through agreement with local chiefs,[4] it was probably possible that a small number of Jesuit catechists received a total of 5-6 years of continuous schooling.

The duration of continuous schooling at other mission district schools probably was no more than a year at the very most, two. Some societies, such as the Scheutists, reported that their pupils remained in school only several months.[5]

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[1]Millman, M.H., February 1905, p. 71

[2]Millman, G.C.R., 1909, p. 73.

[3]Van Wing, p. 9; Father Butaye, XI/17/01, Missions belges, février 1902, p. 60.

[4]Van Hencxthoven, III/8/99 and Father de Vos, Missions belges, juillet 1899, p. 246; septembre 1901, p. 355; Laveille, p. 198.

[5]Father Ar. Renier to President, Oeuvre de St. Amand at the Higher Seminary of Bruges, from an outpost near Umangi, III/8/06, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1906, pp. 211-212.

Length of time spent in class varied from less than five hours a week to four or five hours daily. Most station primary schools by 1908, however, varied between two and four hours a day,[1] the latter time frequently being only for the most advanced pupils. For example, the BMS Wathen,[2] Jesuit Kisantu and ABMU Ikoko[3] and Banza Manteke stations and the WF primary schools[4] provided four hours a day for their advanced pupils, while the majority only stayed in class for two. Two hours a day of secular instruction was the most typical maximum at most central station primary schools. Some stations, such as many of the Scheutists and Redemptorists, offered no more than an hour a day.[5] As late as 1905 children at Nouvelle-Anvers station received only four hours of class a week in addition to oral religious

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[1]Superior Joseph Heintz to his father from Tumba, undated, and Father Van Cleemput at Kinkanda, undated, La Voix du Redempteur, février 1904, p. 76 and juillet 1905, p. 273; Premonstratensian note regarding Gumbari in Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1908, pp. 31-32; Scheutist Father Omer Beel from Kangu, VI/7/02, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1902, p. 194; Van Hencxthoven at Wombali, undated, Missions belges, décembre 1903, pp. 445-446; Kassai Herald, July 1905, p. 32; Rev. J. Sieg, Miss., June 1906, p. 253; B.M.M., January 1892, p. 26; R. B., February 1895, p. 85; May 1898, p. 229; Crawford from Luanza, XI/2/08, E.S., March 1909, p. 96; Campbell, pp. 99, 133.

[2]Missionary letters and annual reports in M.H., May 1902, p. 236; June 1903, p. 306; January 1905, p. 37 and Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1905, p. 57.

[3]Rev. Joseph Clark, IV/13/95 from Ikoko and ABMU Annual Report for 1901, B.M.M., September 1895, p. 500 and July 1902, p. 475.

[4]Ulrix, p. 3; Roelens, IX/10/98, Missions d'Afrique des PB, février 1899, p. 63; Father Albert Smulders to editor, undated, Roelens, undated, and Father C. Verbeke, undated, in Missions des PB, mai 1908, p. 131; avril 1900, pp. 106-108 and février 1909, pp. 38-39.

[5]Father Veys to R.F. Rector of Redemptorists at Tournai, undated, from Tumba, and Isodore Goedleven at Matadi, undated, La Voix du Redempteur, janvier 1901, p. 26 and juillet 1900, p. 245; SHF Germain at Beni, XII/27/06, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, mars 1908, p. 38.

instruction.[1] Among the most advanced, those who could read in Lingala and "who give proof of good character and regular good conduct, get an extra hour a day of class...."[2] On the other hand at the advanced training schools such as Kisantu,[3] Banza Manteke[4] and Mukimbungu, instruction lasted four to five hours daily.

THREE GROUPINGS

It is now possible, as well as useful, to group the 18 separate mission school districts into three groups on the basis of their educational effort. While the indices used have been rough, the consistency of effort between indices is striking (see Table II-IV). On one hand five societies, the BMS, ABMU, WF, SMS, and Jesuits, were clearly the leaders in educational effort between 1876 and 1908. We might label them Group I. At their best the schools of societies in Group I offered the three R's plus geography, French and elementary physiology in a hierarchical system of schools headed by a central advanced training school offering a total of more than six years of schooling. At their worst the schools in Group I societies provided at

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[1] Father H. DeClercq to T.R.F. Prefect at Nouvelle-Anvers, VIII/16/05, Missions en Chine et au Congo, février 1906, p. 26.

[2] Father A. Foncé at Nouvelle-Anvers, VIII/5/04, Missions en Chine et au Congo, janvier 1905, pp. 9-10.

[3] Kisantu central school lasted five hours, while the primary school was only two. Father Butaye, X/10/02, Missions belges, février 1903, p. 73. See also Pierpont, p. 64.

[4] The Banza Manteke Training School ran four hours daily (B.M.M., January 1892, p. 26), while the station primary school lasted only two (ABMU Annual Report for 1889, B.M.M., July 1890, p. 305).

TABLE II-IV

COMPARATIVE RANKINGS OF MISSION SOCIETIES IN TERMS OF EDUCATIONAL EFFORT 1876 - 1908[1]

Index		Most	Intermediate	Least
ENROLLMENT		ABMU BMS SMS APCM Jesuits	CMA FCMS WF GEM CBM	Redempt. Trappists Premonstr. SHF MHF Scheut.
TEXTBOOKS		BMS ABMU	CBM FCMS SMS Jesuits WF GEM	WIM MHF APCM Premonstr. SHF CMA Scheut. HGF Redempt. Trappists
CURRICULA	Station Curricula	BMS SMS WF ABMU Jesuits	APCM FCMS CBM SHF Redempt. GEM CMA WIM	Scheut. Premonstr. Trappists MHF
	Village Curricula	BMS ABMU SMS WF Jesuits	Scheut. SHF GEM CMA WIM CBM FCMS	Redempt. MHF Premonstr. Trappists APCM
	Advanced Training	WF SMS BMS ABMU	CBM APCM SHF CMA Jesuits	GEM WIM MHF FCMS Scheut. Trappists Premonstr. Redempt.
DURATION OF SCHOOLING		WF BMS ABMU SMS Jesuit	others	

[1]The Belgian HGF arrived too late in the period under study to be adequately typed.

least the basic three R's at central station schools and a maximum of six years of schooling. These five societies also managed to provide secular instruction in their village schools sometimes including elementary arithmetic. They were, as well, the major leaders in textbook production, although some were more active than others.

In contrast four societies, the Scheutists, Trappists, Premonstratensians, and MHF, consistently fell into the lowest grouping in each index. They concentrated almost solely upon oral religious instruction providing virtually no secular education. They had no advanced training schools. Those few pupils who spent any time on reading and writing did so only for several months. With the exception of the Scheutists these school districts produced no printed materials. We shall label these societies Group III.

The remaining eight mission societies,[1] Group II, varied widely between the standards of Groups I and III. Thus, the mission societies in the Congo by 1908 could be typed as follows:

Group I	Group II	Group III
WF	APCM	Scheutists
BMS	FCMS	Trappists
ABMU	CBM	MHF
SMS	SHF	Premonstratensians
Jesuits	Redemptorists	
	GEM	
	WIM	
	CMA	

One should be careful to note that what some mission orders did not do was as important as what others did in education. Group III

[1]Typing of the Belgian HGF will be omitted since they arrived in the Congo only in mid-1907.

missions, while numbering only four, employed 36 percent of all missionaries in the Congo, compared with 28 percent in Group II and 35 percent in Group I.[1] This represents a sizeable amount of the available manpower de-emphasizing education at a time when missionaries made up more than 15 percent of the total number of Europeans in the Congo and therefore represented at least quantitively a sizeable part of the potential cultural change agents.

The following three chapters will endeavor to explain this wide variation in educational effort on the part of the different mission orders. Chapter III will be concerned with what effect mission goals had on educational effort. Chapter IV will consider the influence of mission methods and social policies on educational practice, and finally Chapter V will examine the consequences of African reaction and environment on educational development.

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[1]The missing one percent is accounted for by the Belgian HGF.

Chapter III

EDUCATION AND MISSION GOALS

In Chapter I and II we examined why the missions came to the Congo and what efforts they made in education. Indeed, Chapter II illustrated that missions were not a homogeneous group in terms of educational development and discussed how educational effort of the 18 mission school "districts" varied. This chapter will be concerned with why there was such a radical difference in mission educational effort.

The major explanation of this variation in educational effort was the role assigned education as a method of achieving religious goals. It cannot be overstressed that schools were not an activity undertaken for their unique worth, but simply a means or method of achieving religious goals. As one GEM missionary put it, all activities were "subordinated to the Gospel message...Schools were simple, and contained the germ of a single thought, the salvation and growth of souls in grace..."[1] Schools had value only insofar as they contributed to the task of obtaining converts and spreading the gospel. "The instruction given is considered as a means to an end,"[2] and that end

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[1]Campbell, p. 113.

[2]M.I., August 1901, p. 174.

"is that all the teaching shall lead to the feet of the Great Teacher."[1] It should not be construed that these purposes were only held by Group II or III mission societies. A BMS missionary reiterated his Society's view on education in a paper read before the 1904 Protestant mission gathering in Leopoldville.

> Evangelistic work, that is, the telling of the good news of salvation through Christ, is The Work for which we have come to Congo. Everything else takes a subordinate place. The healing of the sick, the teaching of the ignorant, and everything else, however useful and important in themselves, are regarded chiefly as helpful to the spread of the Gospel.[2]

The goals of Catholic orders from Group I to Group III were also religiously-based. The Jesuit tripartite program of agricultural work, religion and education placed education last in importance.[3] The first purpose of all schools was for the children to memorize their prayers and learn their catechism. Only then was elementary secular instruction introduced.[4] The first Jesuit superior, after almost a decade of experience in the Congo, wrote to one of his former colleagues in Belgium, comparing his teaching life in Belgium and the Congo. "At Mons, I thought only mathematics and modern languages; at Kisantu I think only of works of Christian doctrine, agriculture, animal husbandry, and industries."[5]

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[1]FCMS Annual Report for 1906-07, M.I., November 1907, p. 493. See similar comment in Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, pp. 344-345.

[2]Rev. G.R.R. Cameron of BMS Wathen station, G.C.R., 1904, p. 21.

[3]Banckaert, III/12/04 from Kisantu, Missions belges, mai 1904, p. 167.

[4]Van Hencxthoven, XII/6/03 from Wombali, Missions belges, mars 1904, p. 113.

[5]XII/23/01 quoted in Laveille, p. 302.

The WF, who undertook a major educational effort, did so not because they differed from other Catholic orders in religious goals or social policy, but because their leadership evaluated schools more favorably as an evangelical device. Mgr. Roelens wrote in 1898 that "while they come in order to learn to read...we can at least exercise over them [Africans] a saluatory supervision and especially teach them the catechism which is indeed our first purpose."[1]

Role of the School in Evangelization

The school played a number of roles in religious prostelization. These roles were realized and utilized by mission societies, sometimes initially, sometimes later, sometimes not at all. The seven most typical roles of the school might be labelled (1) religious necessity, (2) selection and training of religious assistants, (3) attraction of potential converts, (4) public relations, (5) planned moral change, (6) religious competition, and (7) church financial support.

Religious Necessity

The most basic difference in the role of the school in prostelization was along Catholic versus Protestant lines. Protestanism in Africa, as in Europe, was based upon a personal acquaintance with the Word of God. In the Congo, as in 16th century Europe, this involved the spread of literacy in the vernacular and the consequent translation of the Scriptures into these languages. One could not be a

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[1]"Aperçu général sur la mission du Haut Congo," Missions d'Afrique des PB, décembre 1898, pp. 366-367.

practicing Protestant without being able to read the Bible. Also Group I Protestant societies pointed out it would do little good to send out evangelists without a reading public.

> With such completely illiterate people as the Congo natives were when we first came to them, our second great duty was to teach them to read. The first duty was to sow broadcast the good seed of the Kingdom, by the preaching of the Gospel. But for a truly healthful development of the work, there must be not only the spoken word, but also the written Word. A translation of the Scriptures into 'such a tongue as the people understandeth' is a great necessity; but that again presupposes a reading people. Whatever may be the views adopted as to the wisdom of devoting missionary energy and funds to educational work in other fields, in Africa such work is of the utmost importance, and must go hand in hand with the proclamation of the Gospel. Unless the missionaries establish schools, the people must go ignorant---ignorant to a large extent of the Scriptures...School work has therefore been carried on at all our stations and outposts.[1]

Thus, the primary purpose of all Protestant schools was that "all were able to read God's word for themselves"[2] for "no missionary work can be permanent unless Africans have the Scriptures in the vernacular."[3] And "it would be folly to print books without at the same time teaching people to read them."[4] A leading Baptist missionary several years after annexation summed up the basic Protestant view: "Great importance is attached to reading. Where a school exists in the neighbourhood any candidate [for Church membership] not incapable of learning is expected to attend and acquire a certain amount of proficiency, in order that

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[1]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 298.

[2]Rev. H. P. Hawkins, Miss., January 1904, p. 23. For other statements on the primacy of reading in Protestant schools see, R.B., May 1897, p. 210; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1908, p. 497; Rev. J. H. Weeks to Baynes from Monsembe, undated, M.H., August 1896, p. 323.

[3]Rev. H. S. Gamman of CBM, G.C.R., 1906, p. 32.

[4]Rev. George Cameron at Wathen, BMS Annual Report for 1897, M.H., May 1898, p. 243.

the ability to read God's Word may be secured as far as possible."[1]

While most Protestant societies in the Congo required literacy, they did not in principle consider it their religious duty to establish schools. Rather the provision of schools was forced upon them. In late 19th century Europe or America evangelistic activity could limit itself to handing out religious tracts and Bibles without becoming involved in education, since elementary schools were already established.[2] However, in the Congo, mission societies soon came to the realization that they must provide for literacy training, when the government for various reasons failed to establish elementary schools.

> The policy of furnishing educational facilities for converted and their children has been forced upon us by the necessity of the case. It is not good for a soul to be without knowledge; and we cannot safely trust the [Christian] people...to such instruction as the government schools in Burma and India afford. And there is nothing in China, Japan, or Africa that furnishes anything like what we call education.[3]

From a religious viewpoint the Protestant faith required nothing more than reading in terms of educational achievement. The most evangelistic Protestant societies stopped there in educational provision. "We desire to teach them to read God's Word in their own language, nothing more," the GEM frequently announced.[4] "We had no highbrow

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[1]Alfred Stonelake, "Missionary Situation in the Congo," International Review of Missions, July 1919, p. 318.

[2]For example, in England and the United States, public or state schools were heavily Protestant oriented.

[3]J. N. Murdock, Foreign Secretary of the ABMU Home Committee, B.M.M., July 1889, p. 177. See similar remarks in Ekvall, pp. 70-71, 108.

[4]Mrs. Grace Crawford at Luanza, XI/10/06, E.S., March 1907, p. 116. See also similar comments in E.S. by Jim A. Anderson from Luanza, VI/13/99, November 1899, p. 333; John A. Clarke, XI/1/04 from Koni Hill, March 1905, p. 96; Percy B. Last, XI/25/04 from Koni Hill, March 1905, p. 118. Last wrote, "We are agreed that the most important part of the [school] work is to get them [children in school] to read the Word of God."

ideas of advanced education. Our aim was to teach the intelligent reading and understanding of the Scriptures..."[1] As for curriculum content, "Bible teaching was the backbone of all our school efforts, while the salvation of our pupils and their instruction in the Word of God always comes first and foremost."[2] Thus, the Protestant societies as a whole were motivated to undertake educational activities, if only for strictly religious purposes.

Catholicism demanded no such literacy for proper practice of the faith. From a purely religious viewpoint Catholic missions had no need to provide profane education of any sort. The Catholic order which stressed education from the beginning, the WF, did so because they saw the school as a useful instrument for furthering their religious goals. Even later, when many Catholic missions changed their evaluation of the use of the school, they offered secular instruction only to an elite, those who would become catechists, their still being no necessity for the great mass of possible converts to be literate. Their civilizing mission is clearly given in the statement of a Catholic Party senator in the Belgian Upper Assembly in 1908 and approvingly quoted in the Belgian Jesuit missionary journal. Catholic missions had "...the task of raising the black race, of modifying its character, its instincts, making it love the Christian religion, making it accept the holy law of work, while giving it the example of self-renouncement, complete disinterestness, patience and kindness."[3] When one compares this

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[1]Campbell, p. 113. See also pp. 127, 133.

[2]Ibid., p. 99.

[3]Senator Léger, session of IX/3/08, quoted in Missions belges, octobre 1908, p. 365.

statement with that of Stonelake quoted earlier the difference between Protestant and Catholic religious goals with regard to education is clearly seen. Whatever the other religious desiderata, the Protestants wanted literacy. No such religious necessity for reading applied to Catholic religious goals. Indeed, the majority Catholic view made fun of Protestant schools and their emphasis upon literacy.[1] In one of the most complete statements by a Catholic missionary comparing Protestant and Catholic goals and methods, it is pointed out that "the first task of the Protestant minister must be the school and the translation of the Bible into the native language."[2] But the Catholic commentator pointed out that the number of schools and books was hardly representative of religious success because many pupils and book readers were not Christians. He wrote:

> One can also question whether school and education outside of religious instruction are the main means of civilizing the Congo. What is most important above all in a country where laziness engenders so many physical and moral miseries is to inspire them with the spirit and love of work...On the missionary falls in great part, the duty to inspire the taste and spirit of work, a taste and a spirit which persist...I think that the young Congolese, generally speaking, will be more useful to themselves and to society in liking manual work than in knowing only how to read and write.[3]

This gospel of manual work was above all the principal ingredient of the civilizing mission as viewed by all Catholic missions and became the principal activity of most Group II and III Catholic orders.

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[1]Simpelaere, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1903, pp. 69-71.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 71.

A Trappist brother wrote that his order, after it had been operating in the Congo some half-dozen years, felt its "principal purpose is to moralize and civilize the population by prayer and work."[1] This idea of moral regeneration through manual labor had no need for secular instruction not even improved agricultural techniques. While this form of proselytization was a specialty of the Trappists, the usually intellectually-oriented Jesuits saw their civilizing task and religious goals in the same context. They were more successful because they were better organized and led, not because they had different views.

Selection and Training of Religious Assistants

All Protestant societies and Group I Catholic orders gave at least theoretically, if not in practice, precedence to the training of evangelists and catechists. That is, none were opposed on religious grounds to investing time and money in this type of activity. But because of lack of consistent organization and dynamic leadership, theory was not always translated into practice. Many Group II Protestant societies became convinced of the practical need to train evangelists as well as its theoretical suitability. In some cases training evangelists consisted of little more than reading, it being at first erroneously thought that the "call" and preaching skill were sufficient. The CMA is a good example of this case. In 1909 CMA missionaries, after more than thirty years in the Congo, wrote their home board "to send us, if possible, some workers of high mental calibre, to meet the increasing demands and the growing intelligence of our native Christians

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[1]Brother Simon to T.R.F. Abbot of Westmalle, V/1/01, from Bamania, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacre-Coeur, octobre 12, 1901, p. 514.

and the necessity of better education and training for them. We especially need those who can lead and train our growing force of native evangelists and teachers."[1] After relying for three decades on indiscriminate preaching of the Word, they finally realized their evangelism needed more quality. "The need is not only more [African] teachers, but better educated ones...In service we have man who need further instruction to increase their usefulness...It is time for a better education and training for our teachers and the church generally."[2] It should be noted that the role of education was limited to upgrading church members, not providing such opportunity to the general community. In other Group II Protestant cases, such as the APCM, CBM, FCMS, and GEM, there was much talk of the need for better-trained evangelist-teachers, but little was done about it initially because of lack of organizational and leadership ability.

However, as we have seen from Chapter II, Group I societies, both Protestant and Catholic, not only agreed in theory on the need to train religious assistants, but made extensive efforts to provide such training. They were convinced from the beginning, based upon the belief in the importance of using indigenous evangelists and helpers if they were ever to reach their religious goals in an area as vast as Africa, of the need to train boys as future evangelists and catechists.[3]

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[1]CMA, Annual Report for 1909, p. 170.

[2]Ibid., pp. 174-176.

[3]Rev. Herbert Dixon to Baynes from San Salvador, undated, and Bentley to Sir Charles Wathen, VI/28/90 and Bentley in BMS Annual Report for 1897, M.H., April 1883, p. 137; October 1890, p. 381 and May 1898, p. 244; Rev. K. E. Laman of SMS, G.C.R., 1904, p. 28.

A BMS historian wrote, "As in other fields, so in this of the Congo, the great hope of winning the heathen for Christ lies in the propagation of the Gospel by its own people...Hence the foremost place [is] given in the missionary enterprise to training a native ministry."[1] Even the ABMU, despite early opposition to general elementary secular education, had always believed that "the most important branch of our mission school work consists of the Bible training for preachers."[2]

As for the WF, their founder, Cardinal Lavigerie, had advocated in his original Secret Memo to the Vatican in 1878 that as many intelligent Africans as possible be sufficiently educated so that they could be used as religious assistants.[3] This emphasis on the role of education producing well-trained religious assistants was immediately put into practice[4] and continued.[5] African assistants were seen by

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[1]Myers, p. 113.

[2]B.M.M., July 1889, p. 179. See also editorial in B.M.M., October 1889, p. 392.

[3]Storme, Rapports, pp. 116-126.

[4]WF Josset, XII/19/86, Missions d'Alger, septembre 1887, p. 145; WF M. Guillème, V/87 from Kibangu quoted in Alexis, La Barbarie Africaine, pp. 141-142. Roelens wrote: "...without their aid our action will necessarily remain enclosed in a small radius, and never will extend beyond several villages..." Roelens to Mgr. Livinhac, XI/25/92, Missions d'Alger, novembre 1893, p. 225.

[5]"The most important work of this station [Mpala]is the school for catechists. Our constitutions [of the WF order] recommend to the missionaries to train auxiliares among the indigenous people. We are convinced that on the good training of the catechists depends in great part the future success of missions in this region." Roelens, "Rapport du Travail du Mission du Haut Congo," Missions des PB, juin 1905, p. 169. See also Roelens, "Evangelisation au Congo," Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, décembre 1903, pp. 329, 332.

the WF as the key to religious success. Roelens repeated many times "it is indispensable, if our action is to be extended [outside central stations] to have African auxiliares."[1] The training of these religious assistants he considered "one of the most important activities of his Vicariate."[2] Van Hencxthoven, also, when he arrived leading the first Jesuits in 1893, took the unprecedented action of delaying construction of the church so as to devote initial resources to the training of catechists.[3] He frequently repeated the necessity of such training,[4] a view shared by his successor, Father Superior Julien Banckaert.[5]

Moreover, as part of evangelist training Group I Protestant societies were not satisfied simply with reading because they found more basic secular education was necessary as preparation for Bible study.[6] An SMS missionary, for one, wrote: "The Bible is, of course, the principal [part of the curriculum]. But a great part of it is very

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[1]Roelens, Missions des PB, juin 1905, p. 169. See similar comments by Roelens in Missions d'Afrique des PB, décembre 1898, pp. 371-372; décembre 1907, pp. 361-362; Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, décembre 1903, p. 329.

[2]Father A. Huys to Mgr. Livinhac, Superior General, Missions d'Afrique des PB, novembre 1899, p. 324.

[3]Laveille, p. 137.

[4]Laveille, p. 335.

[5]Missions belges, décembre 1902, p. 441; janvier 1903, p. 31.

[6]Rev. E. T. Welles, undated, B.M.M., April 1899, p. 151.

hard to understand unless we teach other subjects besides."[1] Or as Bentley said in 1902, "the elementary knowledge of the past may have sufficed for that time...We have yet to learn that God prefers to work through ignorance, and that there is no need to seek to lead these people to higher intellectual attainments."[2] Indeed, as early as the 1890's he had begun to talk of Wathen boarding school being expanded someday into a university.

The Jesuits are again a curious exception. Indeed, enlightenment was clearly not the role of the school. The Jesuits frankly stated "our purpose is certainly not to train learned men."[3] Rather, they pointed out, "our main purpose is to make them good catechists."[4] These catechists were not to be learned expounders of the Scriptures as with the Protestants, but to be sufficiently aware of reading and writing that they could read the catechism and teach the alphabet as a sign of prestige. Their main duty was to serve as work foreman and to teach prayers and the catechism. By 1903 the catechists were increasingly seconded by children sent out from the central stations as primary school teachers giving "catechism, reading and writing...to the most intelligent children" in the ferme-chapelles.[5] Even though under

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[1]Rev. K. E. Laman of SMS at Mukimbungu, G.C.R., 1904, pp. 28-30. See also G.C.R., 1902, pp. 25-26 for further SMS statements.

[2]Bentley in Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1902, p. 65.

[3]Father Brielman, Missions belges, mars 1903, p. 104.

[4]Father Struyf at Kisantu, Missions belges, août 1906, p. 300. See also letters in ibid. from Father R. Butaye, undated, octobre 1903, p. 371 and XI/17/01, février 1902, p. 60.

[5]Father Auguste Lauwers, Missions belges, mars 1903, p. 100.

Banckaert's administration the station schools and education were given increased attention, this appears to have been due in great measure to fear of Protestant competition for the Jesuits looked upon education and perfectibility of the African with pessimism, finding the expense, effort and sacrifices needed for extensive schooling rather useless.[1]

While all Protestant societies and Group I Catholic orders approved of establishing special schools to train evangelists, few saw the necessity of establishing lower schools from which to select these future religious assistants. Many, such as most societies in Group II, had no special or separate facilities for this training. They simply used the station primary school or short-term Bible institutes. Group I societies, including the Catholic ones, however, conceived of their village and central station primary schools as feeders to the training school.[2] The WF and Jesuits described their central station schools as "seed-beds" for supplying the rest of the mission with catechists. Bentley wrote:

> Not all boys who come to our stations can be expected to rise above the common herd...so we need to have large numbers in order to have sufficient to send out as pastors and teachers... As those who seek for gold have to pass tons of crushed quartz or sand through the washing troughs to get anything that would pay, so we need to deal in numbers, if we would find and train many who would render service to the Great Master or their own people. [3]

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[1]It was only by 1914 that a missionary educator in the Jesuit district would write, "we are no longer pessimistic. The Black is perfectible. The expenses of the schools, the efforts attempted and the sacrifices made will not be useless." Brother Gabriel, p. 10.

[2]Rev. K. E. Laman of SMS, G.C.R., 1904, p. 28; Svenska, pp. 11-14; Van Hencxthoven, undated and XII/2370l and Butaye, undated, Missions belges, décembre 1901, p. 471; avril 1902, p. 159 and juillet 1901, p. 277 and octobre 1903, p. 371; Father Léon de Duve, IV/21/03, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1903, p. 72; Smith, Yakusu, p.278.

[3]Bentley quoted in Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, pp. 264-266.

Indeed, this use of village and station primary schools as selection agencies for choosing a religious elite was one of the clearest characteristics distinguishing Group I methods from other mission orders.

Attracting Potential Converts

Also particularly characteristic of Group I societies was their desire to immediately establish schools wherever they went because they saw various religious advantages in further schooling besides curriculum content. The most widespread additional role of education was to view the school as a means of attracting potential converts rather than simply teaching reading to already-converted Christians or training religious helpers. Group I societies with the exception of the Jesuits saw this role for the school from the beginning of their work in the Congo. Roelens wrote, "the school is the most efficient means for attracting children to us,"[1] and the Annual Report of the BMS's London Committee, two years before establishment of the Congo mission, announced "the school is our stronghold" and should be used "as a work of preparation for the ingathering of souls."[2] The Jesuits and Group II Catholic orders realized the efficacy of this role of the school only later under threat of Protestant competition.

Perhaps this role of the school in attracting potential converts is best understood by examining the controversy that took place within many Protestant societies during the latter part of the 19th century.

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[1] Roelens, Missions d'Afrique des PB, septembre 1899, p. 268. See similar comments in Bentley to Sir Charles Wathen, VI/28/90, M.H., October 1890, p. 381.

[2] BMS Annual Report for 1877, M.H., May 1878, p. 127.

While there was general agreement within Protestantism that all potential and actual Christians should learn to read and that further schooling should be provided children of Christians and religious assistants, any additional provision of education was sharply criticized by some Protestant mission leaders. The central issue was of what worth was further schooling to religious goals. The discussions within the ABMU and the APCM provide good illustrations.

The "educational issue" within the ABMU stretched over a period of almost a half century beginning with a general policy statement in 1864 downgrading the role of education to a complete reversal of policy at the Annual Meeting of the Home Committee in 1903. Like the APCM, though, the beginning of official policy change came in the early 1890's. In the mid-19th century, before the ABMU entered the Congo, the Home Committee had become alarmed at the energy devoted to education by missionaries in the field.

> "The general policy of the missions had been readjusted shortly before the...jubilee meeting of 1864 in two very important particulars. The first related to the mission schools which were formally placed in subordination to the preaching of the gospel...instead of being used as a means of conversion, or as in any sense, a substitute for the method ordained by Christ and practised by the apostles. The direction of the Master, 'Go Thou and preach the kingdom of God'...does not seem to be met by the gathering of children into schools to teach them the rudiments of human learning for the sake of the opportunity of telling them the story of Christ and his salvation. The school has its place in heathen lands, and may be used to make converted men and women more intelligent and effective Christians, but when it is placed in the fore-front of evangelizing agencies it becomes a delusion and a snare."[1]

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[1]J. N. Murdock, Foreign Secretary of the Home Committee, B.M.M., July 1889, p. 177.

Thus, Union policy was to provide education for converted Christians only and not as a secular agency to draw the heathen to hear the religious message.

Despite these Home Committee policy statements downgrading the role of schools, missionaries in the field found them one of the most useful tools in evangelization and continued to expand their number.[1] Thus, a cleavage developed between Home Committee policy and field missionary practice.

This rising number of schools established by ABMU missionaries in the field and their evident increasing preoccupation with devoting more finance and time to school work led to the appointment in 1892 by the ABMU home organization of a special Committee to consider "the relation of schools and higher education[2] to our mission operations." This Education Committee, whose membership represented people living in the United States, not missionaries in the field, stated,[3] of course, that all were agreed "that the supreme object of Christian missions is religious," but they took a much more conciliatory attitude toward the role schools should play in this goal.

The Education Committee separated educational efforts into four categories; "common schools" (in 19th century American usage), theological or evangelical training schools, station boarding schools, and "colleges" by which they meant academic secondary schools. With regard to "common schools" the Committee said:

> We all agree that ordinary school work, the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, bookkeeping and so forth, can be no more than auxiliary to direct instruction

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[1]Despite the pronouncement on schools in 1864, they burgeoned rising from some 200 in 1864 with over 4,000 pupils to almost 1,000 with more than 18,500 pupils in 1889. These statistics applied to all areas of ABMU effort---Asia and Africa. B.M.M., July 1889, p. 179.

[2]This term meant academic secondary schools.

[3]ABMU Annual Report for 1893, B.M.M., July 1894, pp. 190-199.

> in the way of life [religion]. ...But we should never forget that people cannot read the Scriptures unless they know how to read, or have much influence among men for any good cause unless they have some education...
>
> Nor should we ever forget that a part of every day in these primary schools is consecrated to singing and prayer and the inculcation of Christian truth. What an opportunity is thus afforded to press the claims of Christ upon youthful consciences and hearts! It is certainly unwise for us to shut this open door by refusing to do a useful secular work when we can thereby obtain the privilege of doing a more useful religious work. There is therefore no reason to call in question the wisdom of our missionaries in bestowing much thought and labor upon primary schools.[1]

The Committee reported equally favorably on the provision by mission stations of theological training schools. With regard to station boarding schools the ABMU 1892 Education Committee approved on the basis that they were "indispensable to a thorough evangelization of the people" and "to prepare the [native] churches for independent life." As for "colleges" or academic secondary schools the Committee recommended "special caution be used" in founding them for "there are intelligent missionaries and supporters of missions who call in question the wisdom of establishing these schools" on the basis that funds devoted to such activities "might be more usefully applied" elsewhere. "Especially do they insist that colleges should not be founded in advance of the needs of Christian converts, or, at least, of the Christian community." The only justification the Committee saw for them was that they could aid church financial support.[2] The training provided in them served as "a passport to higher and more lucrative employments than can otherwise be obtained" in that most converts

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[1]ABMU Annual Report for 1893, B.M.M., July 1894, pp. 190-192. The Report extended to p. 199.

[2]For a further development of this role of education, see, "Mission Finance and Vocational Education" below. This 1892 Education Committee of the ABMU also made the first reference to the desirability of including vocational education in the curriculum.

came from the lower classes. Also, since "knowledge flows down from the mountains into the valleys," the provision of academic secondary schools for such as desire learning will stimulate the less educated to follow. "Let Christian colleges fill the land with competent teachers and common schools will respond without fail to their influence..."

Despite these advantages, the Committee was only half-heartedly convinced of the advantages to evangelization of schools, especially academic high schools, and recommended that "the present methods of school work...be continued," and that such activity should be calculated to increase the efficiency of the school in promoting evangelization. They could not help reemphasizing the religious goals of education. "Everywhere it should be remembered that letters and science, however good in themselves, are connected with the supreme object of missions in no other way than as means to an end, and indeed, as means far less direct than preaching the gospel." To ensure this end the Committee recommended that only "outspoken and consistent Christians" be used as teachers and that mission schools give Christian teaching the "first place" in educational work. Yet it was obvious the policy tide was changing for religion, the Committee stated, "cannot occupy as many hours <u>per diem</u> in ordinary schools as must be given to secular branches, but it may outrank everything else in the teacher's heart and enthusiasm." But the attraction purpose was there. "Our schools should be first of all Christian schools, and open to none who will not give a hearing to Christian truth. This should be distinctly understood. The one reason which justified us fully in undertaking secular school work is the opportunity which it brings of

teaching the truth as it is in Jesus, while we also render a service, good in itself, to the people."

The controversy within the APCM[1] centered upon the same issues. As with the ABMU, the ultimate purpose was never in question, namely obtaining conversions and the building of an active native Christian church. The disagreement centered rather on the use of schools in achieving these goals. Supporters of schools maintained that excellence of educational facilities attracted the respect of the community and thereby drew people to the Mission. In addition high calibre schools helped to reduce prejudices against the Mission and of individual prospective converts. In other words education was "helpful...and necessary to the attainment of the best results in the evangelization of a country." Schools served as "leavening agencies" in attracting people to the church and the State and community were proud of excellence in schools. In addition schools gave the teacher an opportunity to influence not only the student but brought the teacher into friendly contact with the whole family. Finally, native evangelists and teachers had to be trained and the children of Christians educated. "Countries have to be evangelized by their own nationals" and these workers have to be well-trained, as well as to provide educational facilities for an increasing number of children of Christians. Besides these two groups Protestant schools are urged and

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[1]The controversy took the form in print of an exchange of letters between an APCM missionary in Brazil, Samuel R. Gammon, principal of a mission academic secondary school, and the Secretary of the American Southern Presbyterian Board and editor of the official journal, M. H. Houston, who had recently visited stations in Brazil. See, Miss., January through April 1893, pp. 6-8; 74-76; 91-93; 136-138.

begged to receive dozens and scores of children from non-Christian families.

Opponents of such schools maintained they were unnecessary for the apostolic method or direct preaching of the Gospel obtained the best results. The guide for missionary methods should be the New Testament and nowhere there is education mentioned as a means of conversion.

> We are all called to get back closer to the New Testament methods of mission work...In the New Testament we find great stress laid on evangelistic work; we find a similar stress laid on pastoral work; we find that the work of publication forms a conspicious feature in [modern] missionary work...but nowhere do we find the smallest intimation that Christ or any of his missionary apostles once suggested the idea of a college [academic secondary school] as a means of propagating the Christian faith.[1]

To this argument school supporters replied that such notions were silly in that times and methods available change and the church was foolish not to make use of them. School supporters concluded as to the extent of education appropriate:

> The true idea of educational work in the mission fields is to aim at the organization of a thorough course of training in the primary department, and up to that point in the intermediate or collegiate course for which the pupils are ready and have need. This course should be gradually extended to meet the needs of the advancing students and the growing intellectual life of the people.[2]

School opponents backed down to the extent of acceding that education of converted Christians might be all right but that education of non-Christians in advanced schools took too much of the minister's

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[1]See Miss., January 1893, p. 8.

[2]Miss., April 1893, p. 138.

time and because schools were "separated to a large extent from the evangelical and pastoral work which needs to be done" and were thus competitive, not complementary, to the missions' main purpose.

The next public move in the controversy between policy, as formulated by the ABMU Home Committee, and educational practice, as followed by missionaries in the field, occured in 1897. The ABMU official journal carried an editorial, "What are our Colleges and Seminaries For?",[1] at the suggestion of a "well-informed friend of the missions, who feels that this point is by some not clearly understood." The editorial concluded:

> "Schools as an evangelizing agency have never been a part of the policy of the Missionary Union. Schools as an auxiliary agent in missions have always been a part of the policy of the Union, and must always be a large and important element in every successful and prosperous missionary work. Next to the preaching of the gospel for the conversion of the heathen, they may be said to be the chief agent in the establishment of those self-supporting, self-directing and self-propagating Christian communities which it is the aim of missions to establish in all heathen lands."

This statement hardly shed light on the controversy from its wording. The difference between "evangelizing agency" and "auxiliary agency" was minimal and is used in the above quotation more as a face saving device. The only purpose of secondary and religious training schools was for preparing preachers and teachers and educating the already converted. They still maintained that "it is, and always has been, the settled policy of the Union, not to spend a dollar of missionary money for the education of the heathen," but this was lip service to an ideal which had long since ceased to be

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[1] B.M.M., April 1897, p. 119.

practiced. Mission schools in India and the Congo were filled with non-Christians or heathen.

During the same year a survey of ABMU missions in Asia was made and policy changes recommended.[1] As for education it reiterated the primacy of direct evangelization with schools being "subsidiary to this one supreme endeavor." They "possess a value in proportion as they promote evangelization or directly tend to conserve and extend its results." While the section on education lacked internal consistency, it did advocate "fostering" secondary schools, although it watered this recommendation down by citing as model the 19th century American academy rather than the "college" or English-type academic secondary school. The 1897 Survey particularly recommended vocational education for converts for financial reasons. The purpose of the secondary schools was to provide "a broad and solid foundation for advanced theological and biblical studies," while vocational education for converts would alleviate church financial difficulties.

The Survey was discussed at the Annual Meeting of the ABMU Committee, labeled an "inspiring statement of missionary principles," and tabled. The Home Committee was not yet ready to accept such a radical shift in the role of education. Another half-decade would pass before the Committee took decisive action in officially assigning an important role to schools in missionary work.

This decisive change occurred in 1903. What had long been advocated by some and what had in any case been going on in the field for some

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[1]"Survey of Asiatic Missions with Some Suggestions as to Future Mission Policy," ABMU Annual Report for 1897, B.M.M., July 1898, pp. 261-267.

time, despite contrary home policy, was officially sanctioned. The Foreign Secretary's introduction to the Annual Report for 1903 announced the Home Committee's new policy:

> "The traditional policy of the Union has recognized evangelization as the first concern of the missionary and has given to preaching a foremost place in the promotion of this work. This policy is strongly approved by your committee; yet [italics added] the work of Christian education obviously is inseparable from a wise and effective missionary propagandism...It must be confessed that our work has suffered from want of a just provision for educational needs... [We] regret that the educational work of our missions has not in the past received stronger support..."[1]

The Foreign Secretary encouraged the expansion of elementary or common schools and particularly theological training schools. The problem of the boarding and secondary school was dealt with by stressing "better co-ordination and unification of educational interests." "Boarding schools should be few and at chosen centers, and higher schools at whatever station they may chance to be placed, should be recognized as belonging to the mission as a whole..."

The following year "Christian education" was a major topic at the ABMU Annual Meeting. In the general introduction to the 1904 Annual Report the Foreign Secretary would write:

> "Conviction of the importance of broad and strong development for the work of education in all our mission fields is now practically universal among our missionaries. Absorption in the noble work of personal evangelism was natural in the earlier periods of our work, and the recognized preeminence of our missions in this line of effort is far from being a cause for regret; but the duty of the present hour is unmistakeable. If we are to share in acceptance of

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[1] B.M.M., July 1904, pp. 294-297.

> the unparalleled opportunities now offered to Christian mission organizations in eastern lands, we must strengthen and broaden our educational work. The call for trained consecrated leaders is urgent; and unequaled opportunity is afforded through the work of truly Christian schools both to extend widely the direct influence of the gospel and to mold powerfully the new civilization of the East."[1]

Now editorial statements in the official journal described mission activities as fivefold---preaching, school, medical work, industrial training and literary production. "That the first is primary, historically and logically, we all agree, but that the rest are essential all have come to see."[2] The lead article in the May 1907 issue of the Baptist Missionary Magazine (devoted entirely to education) summed up the new official posture. "So far as those upon the mission field are concerned this controversy [over preaching vs. schools] seems to have died out. They have discovered that the reduction of the heathen strongholds is to require...an orderly campaign...[They] are persuaded that Christian education is an essential element of their work."[3]

Also in 1904 policy shifted within the APCM,[4] although their conclusions were more limited illustrating one of the basic differences between Group I (ABMU) and Group II (APCM) Protestant societies. The Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Home Board wrote in 1905:

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[1]Annual Report of the ABMU for 1904, pp. 41-42.

[2]Editorial note, B.M.M., March 1906, p. 96.

[3]Emory W. Hunt, President, Denison University, "Why Have Education Missions?", B.M.M., May 1907, pp. 170-171.

[4]Miss., October 1904, p. 475.

> "We are convinced that the most crying need at present in our mission work is the need for an increased force of properly trained native helpers. To supply this need it is absolutely necessary that we maintain, in each of our fields, schools for training the children of our native Christians in order that from this source may be derived the supply of native pastors, elders, deacons, teachers, leaders of woman's work and children's work necessary for the speedy propagation of the Gospel."[1]

Education was obviously going to be limited by Home Board policy to converts and the preparing of religious assistants. But statements from missionaries in the field indicated they also had in mind attracting converts. For example, the school mistress at Ibanj frankly admitted when a sewing class for women began in 1901 that "the object was not so much to teach sewing as it was to get them together for prayer and song."[2]

The years 1903-1904 also saw policy shifts in other Group II Protestant societies. The FCMS home office wrote in 1904 that:

> Schools must be established in every field. Pastors and evangelists and teachers must be trained for the work, and they must be trained under our own auspices. There is no other source from which suitable men can be obtained. There is an unprecedented demand for Christian education. It will promote the interests of Christ's kingdom if all who are eager to learn can be received and taught. The school is one of the very best evangelistic agencies.[3]

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[1]Rev. S. H. Chester, "The Need for Missionary Reinforcements as Compared with the Need for Native Workers," Miss., November 1905, p. 521.

[2]Mrs. Sheppard, Miss., April 1905, pp. 162-163.

[3]Introduction to the FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 367. This view was reiterated by the leader of the FCMS mission in the Congo in the FCMS Annual Report for 1904-05, M.I., November 1905, p. 395.

Even the evangelical Plymouth Brethren in the Katanga came to see the "bait" uses of the school. Mrs. Crawford wrote, also in 1904, that "our hope for the future is in the school. Of the young folks that [sic] profess to be saved, only one out of nine has not [italics added] been in the school."[1] The fact that so many children in the schools were professing conversion "encouraged us to go on with the dry day-after-day drudgery of hunting up scholars."[2]

While Group II Protestant societies did begin to increase their educational effort after the turn of the century because of the religious advantages to be gained from elementary schools, they remained fearful of education's social functions. Crawford of the GEM wrote, "there is perhaps too great a tendency to believe that an adept reader is necessarily going to be an adept Christian."[3] This was similar to Arnot's views expressed a decade before when he pointed out that there were thousands of Britishers with education including professed Christians living unChristian lives so that true "spiritual change can be as truly accomplished in the most ignorant as well as the learned."[4] Similar were the statements of APCM school opponents who maintained that in areas where the society tried secondary schools they "trained more men for the devil than for God."[5]

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[1]Grace Crawford, I/13/04, E.S., May 1904, p. 176.

[2]William Hammond at Luanza, I/17/04, E.S., May 1904, p. 176.

[3]Quoted in Tilsley, p. 477.

[4]Diary entry of XI/13/94 quoted in Ernest Baker, The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot (London: Seeley, Service, 1921 and New York: Dutton, 1920), p. 259.

[5]Miss., January 1893, p. 8.

Catholic missions, because of their recruitment procedures of accepting large contingents of "orphan" and neglected children from the State, had no real need to be concerned with obtaining adequate numbers to hear the religious message. Most Catholic stations had several hundred orphans and freed slaves living in orphanages or Christian villages on the mission station.

Planned Moral Change

Closely related to using the school to attract possible converts was a conception of the school and mission environment as a vehicle of change. Group I societies, both Protestant and Catholic, with the exception of the Jesuits again, saw the school as a major means of planned moral and social change. It had three principal functions in this line---environmental control, enlightenment, and mental discipline---all with religious ends in mind. The most important was social conditioning through environmental control. The school would keep the African on the mission station for extended periods of time even if he was not a resident of the orphanage or separated into special villages as with the ferme-chapelle system of the Jesuits. Roelens wrote from Baudouinville, "Here one has them under control from morning until night. The words and example of the missionaries, the habit of living with them impregnates the children with the spirit of Christianity. They will grow up Christians without even being aware of it."[1] Spending the major part of the day on the mission

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[1]Roelens, Missions d'Afrique des PB, septembre 1899, p. 268.

station offered several religious advantages---mainly strict supervision and time for religious instruction. "...the great advantage of the school is to submit these children to a serious supervision absolutely unknown in pagan families and especially in order to teach them at leisure our holy religion."[1] While African children might be slow to come to school, once they were there they were in no rush to leave. Thus, after secular instruction, which attracted them, religious education could be given at leisure. This preoccupation with strict social control persisted. A WF missionary wrote in 1904:

> "Our purpose, indeed, in our schools, is not only to teach them to read, write and calculate, but especially to have the children under our thumb in order to put them in frequent contact with our catechists and with ourselves. For, if the Blacks are not in a hurry to come (the Black is never in a hurry) they are less in a hurry to go home. When, several minutes after class, the catechist calls them together in order to teach them catechism lessons, all his audience from class follows him."[2]

The whole purpose of Bentley's system of boarding school and village school recruitment at Wathen was conceived as a deliberate means of social change. Specifically the station boarding school provided better environmental control than was possible in a day school. If pupils stayed in neighboring towns they were subject to "evil" and "immoral" influences. "It is always an advantage to take them into the mission house; one has more influence over them and they

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[1]Roelens, VI/15/98, Missions d'Afrique des PB, janvier 1899, p. 6.

[2]WF Auguste Van Acker, Missions des PB, octobre 1904, p. 308.

are shielded from some of the many temptations."[1] For "wickedness is minimised on the station, while in the towns there is no check... The whole tone, discipline, and influence of life on our station are immeasurably better than a day school could exert."[2]

The Jesuits, too, saw the ferme-chapelle as a delibertate means of social change because they separated children away from the pagan and "sinful" adult community before it had "irremediably deformed them" and placed them instead "under the direction of an African who had already crossed the first stage [conversion] of civilization."[3]

Secondly, the BMS, WF and SMS wanted the school to play the role of enlightenment. Secular subjects such as the three R's, "help us to open these young minds a bit and thus to render them more apt at understanding Christian truths."[4] The prolonged period of contact with the missionaries would "domesticate" the African child; pagan superstitions would be replaced by good Christian character traits. "Fetishism...will disappear with the current generation's passing. Those who are growing up will be Christian."[5] Indeed, any increase

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[1]Rev. J. S. Hartland to Baynes from San Salvador, VI/12/81, M.H., December 1881, p. 443.

[2]Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, pp. 268-269.

[3]Laveille, p. 203.

[4]Roelens, VI/15/98, Missions d'Afrique des PB, janvier 1899, p. 6. See also WF Bruno Schmitz from Mpala, IX/13/97, ibid., juin 1898, p. 170.

[5]Roelens, "Rapport sur la Mission du Haut Congo," Missions des PB, octobre 1903, p. 294; See similar remarks in Smith, Yakusu, p. 211; Rev. S.O. Kempton, BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, p. 246.

in school attendance was welcomed.

> ...a great cause of joy for us is to see the number of our school enrollment increase appreciably, for experience is proving here that the school is the most efficient means of winning the Blacks. A child who attends class loses soon all attachment to superstitious practices of which he understands the inanition. He adapts more easily than the old people the spirit of Christianity. Everywhere that we are able to found a school a rapid change is noticed in the population and the parents themselves find themselves won by the charm of their children, who, liars and thiefs that they were, now show themselves full of respect and submission towards their parents. [1]

One of the few Group II mission societies to recognize this role of education was the CBM. After the turn of the century, they, too, thought that secular education would open the African mind to the logic of Christianity.

> They come in large numbers to the schools and the education they receive will enable them to grasp the truths of the Word of God more readily than their predecessors have been able to do. The boys and girls who have received this school training are quicker to throw off the old superstitions, show greater intelligence, and become more useful when they are converted. Already our most reliable and intelligent men in the Steamer department are almost invariably those who passed through the school in their boyhood.
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> Thus the Gospel and Education go hand in hand, each helping the other, and moulding the character of the individual in spiritual elevation, virtue and intelligence, and evolving from the crude and barbarous savage a man of usefulness, worthy and fitted to take a responsible position in the world. [2]

Thirdly, the BMS, SMS and WF felt the time spent at school in mental discipline, through the process of transfer of learning, would

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[1] Roelens, Missions des PB, janvier 1903, p. 6.

[2] R.B., July-August 1905, p. 189. See similar sentiments in letters from Mrs. Ruskin at Bongandanga, and J.R. Ellery at Ikau, R.B., October 1901, p. 272 and November 1902, p. 315.

enhance the character traits of discipline and obedience, highly valued in the Catholic scheme of civilization. These in turn were directly related to religious instruction. The mental discipline required in learning the three R's would render the children more apt, intelligent and receptive in learning and retaining religious doctrine.

> To have children in school is the best means of having influence over them. They can be domesticated. They can be habituated to obedience and discipline. This type of mental gymnastic that they receive here in learning to read, write and calculate develops the intelligence and renders them more apt at seizing and retaining the truths of our holy religion. ...All the places where we have a school will be Christian, when the generation of old polygamists has disappeared. Thus, let us try to give the project of schools the greatest possible extension.[1]

These secular educational opportunities were supplemented by agricultural work in order to teach habits of perserverence and thus develop character.

Public Relations

Most Group I missions and a few Group II Protestant societies saw the school as serving a public relations function. This was closely synchronized with their use of the school in selecting future catechists and in using the school to attract potential converts. For example, the type of pupil recruitment to the central station schools developed by Bentley at Wathen and later copied by the Jesuits and others had public relations as one of its major motivations:

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[1]Roelens, Missions des PB, juin 1905, p. 171. Similar comments by Roelens in Missions d'Afrique des PB, janvier 1899, p. 6.

> "The idea was to go to fearful and distrustful villages further and further from the mission station and attempt to get them to give you some of their children. These were taken back to the central station and trained and educated with the idea they would return to their people and start a ferme-chapelle. Since they were known they would become a link between pagans and missionaries and spread the advantages of the new gospel."[1]

By increasing the number of people in villages who had contact with the missionaries at the central station school, the periodic visits of the missionary or African evangelists to outlying villages was made easier. They would already know someone and be trusted and thus prepare the way for missionaries or evangelists.[2] When boys lived on the station and came from many different villages, they were exceedingly useful for contacts in missionary itinerations as their presence as part of the caravan not only provided reliable carriers and guides, but usually assured a welcome and hearing for the missionary in their respective home villages. Also when evangelists or catechists were resident in a village they not only taught but served as "advance men" for the missionary on itineration. When the latter came to visit he not only had accomodations but was assured of a welcome and a hearing.

Since many who came to the central school took printed materials back into the interior where "they proudly read to their relatives and friends, they became unintentionally, missionaries to their own

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[1]Brielman, p. 8. See also Rev. J.R.M. Stephens at Wathen and Bentley X/6/93, M.H., January 1905, p. 37; March 1884, pp. 93-94.

[2]Rev. H.S. Gamman of CBM, G.C.R., 1906, p. 34; Rev. Bond at Lulanga, R.B., June 1909, p. 108; Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 269.

people."[1] Or as Roelens put it "after returning from class, they [school children] recount at home what they have heard and thus spread the true faith among adults. More than once these naive accounts have been the origin of the conversion of a pagan family."[2] Or as one BMS missionary put it:

> A number of lads representing 18 different villages have come to live and work upon the station. These young men after a term of schooling will return to their homes and be 'light bearers' in the surrounding darkness. They will recount to their friends and relatives the wonderful things they have seen and heard while staying with us, and returning with their reading books and hymns will prepare the way for the future visits of missionaries and for the establishment of outposts.[3]

One of the main features of the Jesuit ferme-chapelle system was to serve both as a demonstration center as well as to placate parents whose children had been "given" the Jesuits. That is, the Africans complained less and more easily gave up their children if they were not to be taken far away.[4] The ferme-chapelles were near enough to native villages to serve both as an example of the new Christian life and to entice other children to join them. It was near enough that the villagers could be given lessons in the catechism, learn the duty of prayer and see the "spectacle of material well-being which comes

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[1]Guiness, Not Unto Us, p. 90. See also R.B., January-February 1906, p. 51.

[2]Roelens to a young missionary postulate at the WF seminary in Algeria, Missions des PB, décembre 1907, p. 356.

[3]Rev. Kenred Smith at Upoto, Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1904, p. 98.

[4]Father Prévers, IV/21/99, Missions belges, juin 1899, pp. 210-211.

from habits of work, order and cleanliness."[1] Thus, the ferme-chapelle served as a powerful means of religious propaganda.

The religious goals of the WF were no different from those of other Catholic mission orders, but the WF decided independently that schools could play a major role in obtaining converts. Other Catholic orders in the Congo did not share this view on the importance of schools in attracting potential converts, until a number were forced to shift policy in order to compete religiously with nearby Protestant missions.

Mission Rivalry and Educational Effort

Probably the strongest catalyst to educational effort was mission rivalry. Most of the educational effort of Group II Catholic mission orders, as well as the Jesuits in Group I, was due to religious competition between Protestant and Catholic mission organizations. In the 1870's the Pope issued a Bull described by an early Protestant missionary as "enjoining a most vigorous attack upon this Protestant enterprise. 'The movements of the heretics are to be followed up, and their efforts harassed and destroyed.' Wherever a Protestant mission was found, a Romish mission was to be set up in the same place, in opposition to it."[2] The harassment began with the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in 1879[3] and continued with varying

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[1]Missions belges, mai 1906, p. 196.

[2]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, I, p. 372.

[3]When the BMS went to San Salvador in 1879, Father Carrie of the French HGF mission at Landana in the French Congo, wrote the African King of Kongo at San Salvador pointing out "that the devil was laying snares for his Majesty for men had come to teach the false and damnatory doctrine of Protestantism..." The King of Kongo's secretary, unable to translate the Portuguese, brought the letter for translation

degrees of intensity and approach throughout the period under study.

The main strategy of Catholic orders, particularly during the first two decades of modern penetration of the Congo, was to tailgate the Protestants rather than to work virgin territory. In 1897 the SHF went to the Stanleyville area where the BMS had recently opened Yakusu station. In 1899 the Scheutists went to the Mayumbe area already served by the CMA and SMS. In 1901 the Scheutists established themselves at Umangi opposite the BMS Upoto station on the Middle Congo and in 1905 the MHF went to the Balolo area already served by the Protestant CBM. A Scheutist Father wrote shortly after the first Belgian missionaries arrived that "...in leaning solely upon God we have the invincible hope to save these people from barbarianism and to take them away from Protestanism."[1]

There were several exceptions in individual mission stations on the Upper Congo[2] but the main exceptions in Catholic policy were Group I mission orders. The Jesuits early began to stake out claims to as

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to the BMS missionaries of whom Bentley was one. Bentley visited Carrie several weeks later in Boma without mentioning he had seen the letter. He was cordially received and Carrie made no mention of the letter. See Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, I, pp. 160-162. When the King did not evict the Protestants, the Catholics sent a mission. Since the French missionaries of Carrie could not go to Portuguese territory because French influence opposed annexation of the Congo by Portugal, three Portuguese naval chaplains arrived in January 1881. See, Bentley, ibid., I, p. 373.

[1]Father Jules de Wilde at Berghe-Ste-Marie, VI/91, Missions en Chine et au Congo, janvier 1891, p. 576.

[2]The Premonstratensians worked the virgin Uele area not by Vatican choice but because Leopold II asked they be sent there for the same nationalistic political purposes that he would later ask the SHF to open Béni station on the Uganda border---to block further expansion of English missionaries in the direction of British East Africa.

much virgin territory as possible and then to defend it against any Protestant encroachment and at the same time to move in on nearby Protestant activities and attempt to squeeze them out.[1] Beginning in 1893 just months after his arrival, Jesuit leader Van Hencxthoven urged his Belgian superiors to establish missions along the rail-line which the Protestants had not yet done[2] and to go immediately to the Kwango River region and establish a mission station, because it was rumored that the Protestants were thinking of both places.[3] From there the plan was rapidly to spread out by the river so as to occupy not only the Kwango, but the banks of the Kasai, Kwilu and Wamba rivers and thus "to bar the way to the heretics."[4] These plans "to close a considerable territory to the heretics"[5] were delayed because of staff shortages, a Kwango post not being established until 1901 and then no further river expansion undertaken,[6] although Kisantu on the proposed

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[1]Van Hencxthoven writing in 1893 quoted in Laveille, p. 133. See also Missions belges, novembre 1904, p. 433.

[2]Van Hencxthoven to Father Provincial, IX/26/93, from Kimwenza quoted in Laveille, p. 132.

[3]Van Hencxthoven, X/93 and X/25/94 quoted in Laveille, p. 133 and 152; Denis, p. 65.

[4]Missions belges, 1902, p. 67; Van Hencxthoven, II/3/02 quoted in Laveille, pp. 283-284; Van Hencxthoven, IX/12/02, XI/12/02 and XI/4/03 all quoted in Laveille, pp. 310, 332.

[5]Van Hencxthoven, X/25/94, quoted in Laveille, p. 152.

[6]Ibid., p. 333.

railline was opened in November 1893. While the WF did initially tailgate British Protestants into East Africa, by 1880 some had crossed Lake Tanganyika into the virgin eastern Congo. Although they had no Protestant competition during the CIS period, they anticipated it and their strategy, like that of the Jesuits, was to get their first and attempt to prevent Protestant settlement.[1]

Protestant missions also saw the way into the interior as competitive but for different reasons. While leading Protestant pioneers viewed this competition as unnecessary, Africa being big enough for all,[2] to have withdrawn from competition "would have brought upon us like treatment elsewhere. We were obliged to hold out at all costs."[3] Indeed, "all this activity on the part of Romish priests showed us that we could not afford to lose any time. Although we were short-handed, we must move, if we would not be forestalled" in going upriver.[4] Thus, "both Catholics and Protestants advanced side by side up the Congo river with their conflicting claims."[5]

Religious competition, however, took a new and less constructive

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[1]See, for example, WF Felix de Meulenaere to Roelens from Luisi-St.-Lambert, VI/25/01, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, mars 1902, p. 77. "The Protestants will not be slow in occupying the country, if we do not get there ahead of them."

[2]Grenfell wrote from Isangila in July 1881 that "the heart of Africa is big enough for us all, but it seems as though the Roman Catholics were bent on treading on our heels wherever we turn and not upon an independent course of their own..." See, Grenfell at Isangila, VII/81, quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 117; Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 28.

[3]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 28.

[4]Ibid., I, p. 383.

[5]Slade, English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State, pp. 27-28.

direction after the turn of the century, particularly in the Lower Congo. While in the earlier decades this inter-confessional rivalry had in general involved tailgating in the race inland and settlement in the same region, beginning just after the turn of the century Catholic policy in the Congo became that of ousting Protestants from the villages they served, rather than simply establishing neighboring village posts. For example, by the turn of the century the Jesuits and their Redemptorist neighbors were greatly increasing their staffs. Redemptorist Father Veys wrote in October 1900 reporting a visit to the Jesuit mission at Kisantu and a talk with Jesuit Superior Van Hencxthoven that "if our forces are not doubled, if we do not multiply ourselves in order to steal from one village to the next, we will soon see ourselves reduced to impotency and confined in the small city of Tumba."[1] Villages were fought for one by one in the Lower Congo, each claiming God was on their side. "It is truly foot by foot that we must dispute the terrain with the enemy, but God is with the Catholic missionaries."[2] Villages came to consider themselves either

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[1]X/15/00 from Tumba, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, mars 1901, p. 77. Beginning in 1903 the ABMU Lower Congo missionaries began reporting that the Jesuits and Redemptorists were greatly increasing their numbers. See, ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., July 1904, pp. 490, 493; February 1905, p. 65.

[2]Mother Superior at Matadi, VII/17/01, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, octobre 1901, p. 244. See also Missions belges, Brielman, V/8/99, from Kisantu, septembre 1899, p. 365; Butaye, XII/15/98, avril 1899, pp. 162-166; Father Hanquet at Ndembo, V/14/98, septembre 1898, p. 366; Father Hendrickx at Mpese, VI/16/04, août 1904, p. 318; Father de Vos, VI/3/05, septembre 1905, p. 363; Missions en Chine et au Congo, Scheutist Father Omer Beel at Leopoldville, III/5/03, septembre 1903, p. 176; Father DeCleene at Kangu, VI/13/05, octobre 1905, pp. 225-229; CMA, Annual Report for 1905, pp. 111-112; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1906, p. 180; La Voix du Redempteur, Father Ach. Braekman, undated, mai 1906, p. 185; Father Defonteny at Tumba,

"Protestant" or "Catholic."[1] Ferme-chapelles were multiplied in an attempt to reach more and more Africans and to drive the Protestants out of contention by containing them and driving up their costs.[2] This village by village religious competition for souls was not limited to the Lower Congo. In the Upper Congo the APCM and FCMS, for example, and their Scheutist neighbors, and the SHF speak of rivalry for villages.[3] Indeed,

> "both Catholics and Protestants advanced side by side up the Congo river with their conflicting claims, each side knowing very little of the other after three centuries of separation, and each passing on to the Africans a strange caricature of the other's faith and practice, so that later, when Protestant evangelists and Catholic catechists came to blows over the disputed possession of a village, doubtless both parties were sure they were fighting for the true God against the hencemen of the devil."[4]

XI/30/07, avril 1908, p. 156; Father A. de Lodder at Kionzo, IX/25/08, février 1909, p. 69; Redemptorist Father Veys at Tumba, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, mars 1901, p. 77; Redemptorist Braeckman, undated and Jesuit J-J. Butaye at Kisantu, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1907, pp. 18-21 and septembre 1908, pp. 93-94.

[1]La Missions congolaises des Pères Rédemptoristes (Louvain: St. Alphonse, 1936), p. 12.

[2]The Jesuits and Redemptorists found Jesuit-style ferme-chapelles particularly useful for they both prevented Protestant settlement and "the more we multiply our ferme-chapelles, the more resources we have. The more we multiply our posts, the more their [Protestant] expenses increase." Van Hencxthoven, II/3/02, quoted in Laveille, p. 283. See also Redemptorist Father Isodore Goedleven, X/22/01 from Kinkanda, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, février 1902, pp. 62-63.

[3]See Miss., June 1906, pp. 256, 277; Bedinger, p. 108; M.I., December 1905, p. 524; Dye, p. 105; Scheutist Léon Van der Molen at Luluabourg, I/27/06, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mai 1906, p. 139; Scheutist Em. Geens from Lac Léopold II area, IX/30/08, Missions en Chine, au Congo, et au Philippines, février 1909, p. 47; Regne du Coeur de Jésus, février 1907, p. 20.

[4]Slade, King Leopold's Congo, p. 142.

African attitudes played a key role in this mission rivalry. The timing of increased educational development in an area was usually associated with the first shift in African attitudes toward education from indifference to interest in schools. While most Protestant societies had concentrated at least on reading from the beginning, Catholic orders were content with oral religious instruction. With the exception of the WF, little secular education was undertaken by Catholic orders until after the turn of the century. Unlike the Protestants, there was no religious compulsion to spread literacy in the vernacular as Bible reading was not necessary to conversion or proper practice of the faith. As long as the African was uninterested in schools and content with the novelty of religious instruction and general station life, the Catholic and Protestant missions, from a religious standpoint, were even runners. But when the African community suddenly began willingly attending school and moreover requesting village schools, then the missions which had schools attracted more prospective converts.

With the shift in African attitudes toward education, the Catholic missionaries discovered that they, too, must provide secular education, if they were successfully to compete for conversions with neighboring Protestant missions. Thus, despite the fact they may have dwelt as next-door neighbors with a Protestant mission for years, educational expansion did not come in the Catholic missions until African interest forced them to do so for religious purposes. The African, imbued with a new interest in education, went to the mission which provided it. The only defense was for missions without them to open schools.

The increasing African demand for education forced all mission orders by the turn of the century to reevaluate their use of schools. The school now became viewed by many more mission societies as an effective weapon in the religious competition for souls. The Protestant missionaries, particularly those in Groups I and II, immediately responded to African enthusiasm; the Catholic missions, including the Jesuits, responded to these demands, not to satisfy Africans, but to counter Protestant successes in attracting Congolese through the provision of schools. In this sense the Protestant missions were filling the functional role normally played by the State in Catholic countries---setting standards and stimulating rivalry from the Church.

Protestant missions, especially those in Group I, served as educational catalysts with regard to Catholic educational efforts. Beginning first in the Lower Congo and spreading upriver in conjunction with shifts in African attitudes toward education, many Catholic missions increased or in most cases began educational effort. The reaction of the Redemptorists and Jesuits in the lower Congo is a good example of this increase in educational effort to counter Protestant religious successes. Previously their educational efforts and policy had been little different from Group III societies. The Redemptorists reported in 1900 that they lacked many things "among others a school, rendered more necessary by the proximity and progress of the Protestants."[1] Although the Redemptorists did not get around to educational

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[1]Father Veys from Tumba, undated, La Voix du Redempteur, novembre 1900, p. 431.

reorganization until 1903, in 1901 the Jesuits opened a catechist school at Kisantu and gave increasing emphasis to secular education in the preparation of catechists. At the same time the Sisters at Kisantu began offering reading to girls who were destined to marry catechists with the idea that they, like the wives of neighboring Protestant evangelists, would teach reading as well as prayers and catechism to women in the villages.[1] In late 1903, after a visit to Kisantu by the Governor-General, the Inspector of State and several railway executives, the Jesuit Apostolic Prefect, Julien Banckaert, announced to the Catholic public in Belgium that for the first time they intended to prepare pupils for subaltern positions with the State and the railway "in order that we do not see ourselves ousted from these jobs by Protestants."[2] French was finally introduced to the Kisantu central school curriculum in 1906 "out of fear that Protestant-trained people would get the best jobs, those requiring some knowledge of French."[3] Indeed, a Jesuit missionary wrote in 1906 "...our Father Superior insists more and more upon the importance of instruction. It is indeed a powerful arm against the Protestants."[4]

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[1]See Sister Superior Ignatia de la Croix from Kisantu to Rev. Mother General at Namur, IX/9/01, III/16/02 and VII/13/02, Missions belges, janvier 1902, p. 34; juin 1902, p. 229; and novembre 1902, p. 412.

[2]Prefect Apostolic J. Banckaert at Kisantu, IX/8/03, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, novembre 1903, p. 318 and repeated in Missions belges, décembre 1903, pp. 449-450.

[3]Laveille, p. 228, note 3.

[4]Jesuit Father Ivon Struyf, Missions belges, août 1906, p. 300.

Another clearcut example of the catalytic function of Protestants in spurring Catholic educational effort is the beginning of schools by the SHF in the Stanleyville area. Although the SHF arrived there in 1897, they did not open a school until 1903 at the height of the "educational craze" taking place in the region and led by their neighbor, the BMS Yakusu station. A school was opened that year by the SHF at Stanleyville and a series of school books prepared.[1] The following year the arrival of seven more Protestant missionaries at Yakusu and the establishment of what the SHF termed a "magnificent" school there brought the response that "we have much to struggle against and it is indispensible to found a catechist school."[2] SHF missionaries at Romée and Basoko were also under pressure from Yakusu activities and pleaded for more donations so as to extend their educational activities.[3] "Unfortunately, the English Protestants established at Yakusu for eight or nine years cause us many difficulties. Possessing great resources, having establishments and schools admirable organized from the material point of view...it has been impossible for us to oppose their efforts."[4] Missionaries at Romée even found themselves forced to learn the local language because of "the great

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[1]Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1904, p. 92; Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls, p. 19.

[2]Father Hermann Kohl at Romée, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 237.

[3]Father Britzen at Basoko, IV/16/06 and Father Philippe Kohl at Romée, undated, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, juillet 1906, pp. 99-100; novembre 1906, p. 166.

[4]Father Hermann Kohl at Romée, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 238.

influence" the BMS had on the natives "because they teach their catechism in the language of the Lokeles."[1] Indeed, wrote a missionary from Romée, "in order to struggle against them we must have many well-organized schools."[2]

The Upper Kasai Scheutists also took up the tool of education about 1903 in attempting to combat the success of the APCM in the Kasai. By 1907 they had moved into Luebo and established a school directly across the river from that of the APCM.[3] Even the WF were ready and aware they would be forced to greater educational effort should Protestant societies enter their area. Roelens wrote; "Have we not the necessary resources in order to establish schools everywhere. The need for them becomes all the more urgent as the Congo, being now almost completely pacified, will see the Protestants threaten to invade from all sides. It will be necessary to occupy the country before them."[4]

This catalytic function of Protestant schools is also observable in the reverse sense. That is, where Protestant Group I societies were not present, the same Catholic orders saw no need to expand educational opportunity even though they were aware of Protestant uses of the school. While the Mayumbe Scheutists, for example, adopted the BMS Wathen method of recruiting several young people from each village, they did not copy

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[1]Father Philippe Kohl at Romée, undated, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, septembre 1906, p. 132.

[2]Father Britzen at Basoko, undated, ibid., novembre 1906, p. 168.

[3]Scheutist Father A. Demol at Mushenge-Lukenge, XII/4/07, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1908, p. 36.

[4]Missions des PB, janvier 1903, pp. 6-7.

Wathen's use of the station primary school. After almost ten years of operation, the Kangu central station primary school still did not provide very intensive schooling. While this is partly explained by the Scheutist general attitude toward education, it is also due to the fact that the immediate area[1] was not served by a Group I Protestant mission society.

Though Catholic missions were later aware and envious of Protestant success in attracting youth, which they attributed to Protestant schools,[2] they frequently did not make use of this knowledge, holding firm to the primacy of religious practice. For example, despite the avowed concern of the SHF to expand educational facilities, including

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[1]The SMS were in the same general area, but not neighbors. The CMA were also present but they were ineffectual.

[2]The best discussions of the Catholic missionary view of Protestant methods is a long series of articles by a Redemptorist missionary in the Lower Congo, Father Simpelaere, "Les missionnaires Protestants anglais dans le Bas Congo," Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, mai 1902, pp. 140-146; juin 1902, pp. 154-159; juillet 1902, pp. 195-203; octobre 1902, pp. 300-308; décembre 1902, pp 359-365; Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo [name change in journal, see Bibliography] mars 1903, pp. 69-75; and mai 1903, pp. 123-130. For other comments by Catholic missionaries indicating awareness of the Protestant use of schools see Scheutist Father Camille Cneut to T.R. Mgr. Van Hecke, Superior General of Scheut, undated, from Nouvelle Anvers, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juillet 1901, p. 174; Scheut Father L. Lemaire to T.R.F. Superior, V/4/1905, from Bangala area sub-post, Missions en Chine et au Congo, octobre 1905, p. 220; Scheut Father Honoré Baten VII/18/08 from Umangi, Missions en Chine, au Congo et au Phil., janvier 1909, pp. 22-23; Redemptorist Father Vuysteke, VI/25/07 from Kionzo, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, septembre 1907, p. 117. The Jesuit writer, Vermeersch in 1908 summed up the Catholic view of Protestant methods:

> "While the Catholic missions organize and maintain the most varied activities, the Protestant missionaries undertake almost exclusively schools, especially schools for catechists. They also have organized dispensaries. Agricultural production doesn't interest them at all, nor does the education of orphans."

Arthur Vermeersch, "Les missions catholiques au Congo belge; Etude critique de leur action," Bulletin de la Société belge d'Etudes Coloniales, janvier 1909, p. 9.

a plan to add "a large school for catechists," well-equipped""with all necessary materials" and then to organize and increase their out-posts, this was to be done only "when we have completed the brick chapel."[1] Or the Upper Congo Scheutists missionaries opposite the BMS Upoto station reported in 1906 Protestant efforts to "hurry to open schools," but their response was that they could draw away children who would become bored "with the alphabet and hymns" by their "majestic ceremonies of baptism..."[2]

The Protestants, however, were quite aware of the religious advantages of their numerous schools, their usefulness as a weapon in rivalry with Catholic missions,[3] and especially Group I societies pressed the advantage.

> "You will have gathered from my references to the activity of the Roman Catholic missionaries that we are face to face with forces which aim at minimizing our influence at every possible point...The present phase of affairs is such as to lead one to write you a word or two on the paramount importance of translation work and schools...we are face to face with an opposition which can only be met by carrying out this policy of translations and schools... Men who...are 'mad on schools' are needed..."[4]

Also indicative of this awareness was FCMS competition with the Upper Congo Scheutists for the newly-opened Lake Leopold II area and their

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[1]Father Herman Kohl at Romée, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1905, p. 240.

[2]Father Ar. Renier, III/8/06, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1906, pp. 212-213.

[3]See, Bentley to Baynes, VIII/29/95, from Wathen, M.H., February 1896, p. 64; Rev. G.R.R. Cameron of Wathen and others in G.C.R., 1904, pp. 23-23.

[4]Grenfell to Baynes, V/4/02 quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, pp. 494-495.

emphasis upon schools. They reported local traders and officials advised them to "press hard your educational work, and in the end you will win over the Catholics."[1]

Mission rivalry had two primary effects upon educational development; clustering and expansion of educational opportunity. During the first two decades (approximately 1879-1899) mission competition resulted primarily in clustering of schools. With the advent of African interest in education during the final decade of this study (approximately 1899-1908) the educational result was a vast increase in the number of village schools and an increase in secular curricula as well as a further nucleation of educational facilities. While some Catholic orders claimed that this "limited" their program so that "the major part of our efforts and energies go to stop and repel the heretic plague,"[2] this energy and effort was educational activity. One of the most objective and erudite Belgian commentators on Congo education has contended this "coexistence in a small area of missions of different faiths" rendered their work "sterile" as well as being a source of constant quarrels and violence between native converts.[3] While antimosities did surely develop, the early competition was a stimulant

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[1]M.I., August 1908, p. 328. See also FCMS Annual Report for 1908-09, M.I., November 1909, p. 523 and October 1909, p. 435; Scheutist Em. Geens, IX/30/08, from Lake Leopold II area, Missions en Chine, au Congo et au Philippines, février 1909, p. 47 spoke of racing to get to villages before the Protestants.

[2]Redemptorist Father Ach. Braeckman, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1907, pp. 21-22.

[3]L. Schmitz, Des organisms sans but lucrative des cultes et des missions de l'enseignement en Droit Congolais. Extrait des Nouvelles Corpus Juris Belgici (Bruxelles: Larcier, 1937) p. 80.

to educational effort. To state that "it constituted in more than one case a waste of energy and resources, without profit for the cause of civilization"[1] is only a half-truth. It does not take into account the shift in Catholic strategy after the turn of the century from that of duplication of effort in an area due to tailgating to that of competition for individual villages where Protestant schools were already established. This meant the beginning of educational effort for many Catholic school districts, although this village by village effort to oust Protestants was obviously a waste of men and material.

While this rivalry did lead to an expansion of educational opportunity, it also led to a lasting bitterness between the two sections of Christianity. Indeed, the Catholics from the beginning viewed the Protestant presence as needful of extirpation as paganism. "The Romish Church," Bentley wrote in early 1889, "considered the advent of Protestant missionaries into Central Africa a greater evil to the natives than their previous dark heathenism."[2] While at first the Protestants had been willing to coexist, after three decades of rivalry the animosity was mutual. The Protestants concluded after meeting in 1909 that "Roman heathenism needs to be as strenously met as Congo heathenism"[3] and Catholic authors continued to warn that "the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, I, p. 372.

[3] Rev. A. L. Bain of ABMU paraphrased in G.C.R., 1909, p. 8.

fanatism of the Protestants constitutes the greatest enemy of the Catholic missionary."[1] Each, thus, saw the other as the major block to religious evangelization on the same rung of importance as the problems of polygamy and witchcraft.[2]

Mission Financing and Vocational Education

Finally, the role of the school in mission financial self-support is best illustrated by vocational education. It is necessary immediately, however, to clarify the difference between on the one hand mission preoccupation with the African's indolence and the measures they advocated to correct this character fault and on the other hand their policy with regard to vocational education in the sense of introducing new skills. The former might be called the gospel of work, central to the ideal of moral regeneration through manual labor.

1. The Gospel of Work

Missionaries of the 19th century found a prime place for the idea of work. The development of regular habits of industry was central to both Protestant and Catholic policies.[3]

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[1]DeWit, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, décembre 1910, p. 142. Both Protestant and Catholic sources are increasingly filled with invictive toward each other.

[2]See for example Minjauw, p. 34.

[3]The volume of evidence is overwhelming. Following is a sampling of missionary statements. M.H.: Comber to Baynes, undated, April 1879, p. 119; Comber to Baynes, VII/24/82 from Wathen, November 1882, p. 366; Grenfell to Denis, III/28/95, from Bolobo quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 384. G.C.R.: CBM and BMS statements, 1904, pp. 37, 45-46; ABMU statements, 1906, pp. 111-112 and 1909, pp. 59-64. Miss.: November 1906, p. 507. M.I.: September 1907, p. 358; June 1908, p. 235. Missions en Chine et au Congo: juillet 1889, p. 94; mars 1893, p. 221. Mouvement Antiesclavagiste: Scheutist · Father Declercq to Superior General, undated, septembre 1900, p.234.

The argument went that the African lacked civilization and progress because for centuries he had wallowed in idleness, unwilling to exert any effort to improve his techniques and to advance his society. The mere arrival of the European made little difference, for this had become a hereditary laziness, a part of his biological nature, a consequence of the state of barbarism in which the central African had lived from time immemorial.[1] Therefore, if the African was left to himself he would remain idle and would never be civilized. Teaching regular work was, thus, essential to progress and civilization and especially to Christian character for "work is at the base of all projects of moralization and civilization."[2] The "teaching" of regular work habits became the primary element in Catholic mission activity together with oral religious instruction. From Baron Bethune's speech before the Catholic Congress at Malines in September 1891 in which he stated "the

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Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo: WF statement, septembre 1904, p. 251; Scheutist Léon Van der Molen, undated, janvier 1905, pp. 14-20; Superior Gabriel Grison from Stanleyville, IV/13/05, juin 1905, p. 179. Missions belges: novembre 1900, p. 420; décembre 1900, p. 461; février 1902, pp. 60-63; mai 1902, p. 192; février 1904, p. 66; août 1904, p. 293; avril 1906, pp. 142-143; mai 1906, p. 183; octobre 1906, p. 370; juillet 1907, pp. 245-246; Van Hencxthoven to Provincial, I/20/94, quoted in Laveille, p. 138; Van Wing, pp. 18-19; Father Arthur Vermeersch, "Chrétienisation et civilisation," Oeuvres Catholiques au Congo. VIème Section. Rapports du Congrès Catholique de Malines, 23-26 septembre 1909 (Bruxelles: Maison de l'Action Catholique, 1909), p. 4. Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur: mai 7, 1895, p. 162. Missions des PB: février 1900, pp. 45-51; juin 1903, p. 178; octobre 1903, p. 293; juillet 1904, p. 197; juin 1905, p. 165; juillet 1907, pp. 245-246; décembre 1907, p. 363; mai 1908, p. 131; WF Coulbois, "Les Missions de Kibonga et de Mpala," Missions Catholiques, vol. XX, 1887, p. 325.

[1]Wauters, Etat indépendant du Congo, p. 349.

[2]Jesuit F. Goosens, X/16/03, Missions belges, février 1904, p. 66.

first virtue is to inculcate in the blacks a love of agriculture and of manual work"[1] to the statement accepted by the Catholic Congress of 1909 that "the negro must learn to work" for "work, indeed, is an indispensable factor in all civilization,"[2] this theme was accepted and practiced by the Catholic missionaries in the Congo.

While the Protestants agreed that the African did not like to work and that work was part of the civilizing task, they disagreed as to the cause of African indifference to work and as to the remedy necessary to change such habits. The Protestants attributed this lack of regular work habits not to basic biological nature, but to the easiness of satisfying basic needs and to social organization which reinforced male leisure, assigned agricultural labor to women and slaves,[3] put taboos on initiative and which had little conception of time.[4]

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[1]Baron Léon Bethune and Mgr. A. Stillemans, Les missions Catholiques de l'Etat indepéndant du Congo au Congrès de Malines (Bruxelles: Goemaere, 1891), p. 10.

[2]Jesuit Ivon Struyf, "Psychologie des Bacongos," Oeuvres Catholiques au Congo, p. 13.

[3]Bedinger, pp. 64, 183; Van Wing, p. 19. Van Wing points out that even Christian men left traditional crops to women, although they were willing to cultivate newly-introduced crops such as rice and sweet potatoes.

[4]For example, a BMS missionary wrote that "the Lokele man is not lazy as we understand laziness. He does as much as he need do and no more. With no clocks to worry him, he takes his time, and with no competition to strive against he sees no need to hurry or to excell." Smith, Yakusu, pp. 11-13. Various Jesuit missionaries shared this view of the causes of African indolence rather than basic biological nature. See, Van Wing, pp. 18-19 and diaries of Fathers Cus at Kimwenza and de Vos in Missions belges, novembre 1900, p. 420; juillet 1907, pp. 245-246; and letters from Father Butaye, ibid., février 1902, pp. 60-61 and août 1904, p. 293.

2. The Goals of Vocational Education

Most of what was called vocational education was simply unskilled manual labor. Many secondary sources interpreted the continual remarks by missionaries and mission societies about work, which the missionaries themselves frequently referred to as "industrial education," as meaning that vocational education in the Congo was both widespread and a primary emphasis in mission schools. Not only is quantity of effort implied but it is stated that manual work was primarily introduced in order to develop Christian character. Neither statement could be more inaccurate.

Vocational education at mission stations was both severely limited and introduced as a result of material necessity and financial need. Only later would it be justified as contributing to religious education.

The official policy of most mission societies at least of their home committees in the 1880's and 1890's was to ignore industrial education because they thought it had no relation to their primary goal of gathering in souls. It was only later, after missionaries in the field continually defied such policies out of necessity, that the official view sanctioned time spent on industrial education as being religiously legitimate. This shift in official mission policy took place within most societies at the turn of the century.

The main reason for immediately training some Congolese in artisan skills was "by this means to hope to lessen a little the expense of coast labour."[1] The first vocational instruction in the

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[1]W. Lawson Forfeitt to Baynes, V/15/91, from Upoto, M.H., October 1891, pp. 395-396. See also, BMS Annual Report for 1898, M.H., May 1899, p. 264; Smith, Yakusu, p. 196.

Congo was motivated by the insufficiency of mission funds and the high cost of employing skilled Accra and Lagos coast workers on one hand, and the continual need for labor for station building and maintenance on the other hand. "It is no small task to keep a house together. Fresh foods are needed, but they must be produced by hard labor. For the sake of health, the grounds must be tended, hence, for our sake as well as his, the native is taught the use of tools and induced to work."[1] This was the paramount purpose of industrial education as only a small percentage of those in school received vocational training. Even the Trappists, whose missionaries were each required to learn a trade before going to the Congo to be used both in constructing the mission and in teaching the Congolese prepared no more artisans than those necessary for their own needs.[2]

Those missions who had boarders, particularly all of the Catholic missions who had orphanages and Christian villages, had to feed these hundreds of people. Extensive agricultural fields were a necessity, if missions were going to continue to accept large numbers of "abandoned" children. In most areas there was not sufficient agricultural production in native villages to provision State posts and missions. Thus, the missions had to clear land and introduce European vegetables in addition to the African staples. As the number of freed slaves at first and later other dependents increased, they enlarged their fields.

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[1]FCMS Annual Report for 1901-02, M.I., November 1902, p. 364. See also, Dye, pp. 78-84.

[2]Before their departure for Africa the official Trappist journal had stated: "Indeed our plan is to welcome young Congolese and to have them advance, not only in religious knowledge and the practice of Christian morals, but also in material civilization. See, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, juillet 22, 1895, p. 250.

Pupils worked in the fields because in many areas no wage labor was available and most missions did not have sufficient funds for such expenditures. Further, even when they paid their African dependents token wages and clothed them, this was less than what they would have to pay to hire free labor.[1]

This role of vocational education was as true of Group I societies as those of the other two groups. For example, all BMS stations provided "industrial training" but most such work was, as at Wathen, centered on agriculture and brickmaking. Through such labor children raised their own food, a necessity unless enrollment was to be decreased, and provided the millions of bricks necessary for station construction.[2] The skilled labor necessary for building construction, for operating and maintaining river steamers and for the presses was trained, but only in terms of the mission station needs. Bolobo was noted as a center of industrial training[3] because it was both the BMS steamer home port and the site of the largest press operating on the upper Congo. Bentley wrote that "the smaller requirements of other stations have given smaller opportunities for industrial education" but in any case other stations provided it "in a humbler way...on the lines most necessary locally..."[4] The relation of provision of vocational

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[1]de Meuss and Steenberghen, p. 146 and Scheutist Father Declercq to Superior General, undated, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, septembre 1900, p. 234.

[2]BMS Annual Report for 1897, M.H., May 1898, p. 243.

[3]Fullerton, p. 145.

[4]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 237. This type of statement is born out by an English observer who visited the Upper Congo in 1904. He found none of the CBM stations "on the same scale as the BMS, nor are there the same extensive workshops and yards to afford facilities for the technical education of natives." Mountmorres, p. 110.

training and mission needs is seen in the following remarks by Bentley.

> Through the careful training of Grenfell and his colleagues, these educated natives have rendered the coast workmen unnecessary, and now the brickmaking and laying, carpentering, blacksmith work, engineering, steamer work, repairs, and everything is done by upper river boys and men...The dock work of the steamers gives an excellent opportunity for teaching smithing and engineering work; while the large staff needed to carry on the steamer and station work have required much more accomodation, and so the opportunity has been afforded to instruct many in carpentry and house-building.[1]

Indeed, any benefit to the African from vocational education was fortuitious, for the main purpose was to provide for station construction, upkeep and income and for steamer and press operations. This is particularly clear when it is remembered that most mission societies did not encourage Africans to seek wage employment in European towns (see Chapter IV). For example, William Millman at Yakusu, after a number of years there, altered his views on the benefits of industrial work for "there are so few native industries that could be advantageously encouraged, and so much that we train natives to do for our own benefit, and yet [is] of no use to them when they leave us..."[2] Henry Richards the veteran ABMU missionary in the Lower Congo wrote in 1894, after fifteen years in the Congo, that when he arrived he was strongly in favor of industrial work and had tried to teach Africans regular work habits, but now he was not convinced "that it pays either financially or spiritually from a missionary standpoint" and thus he preferred to drop such activity.[3] J. A. Finch, the mission

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[1]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 237.

[2]G.C.R., 1907, p. 20.

[3]Richards, VII/17/1894, from Banza Manteke, B.M.M., November 1894, p. 518.

mechanic and carpenter at Ikoko on the Upper Congo also became disillusioned with teaching vocational skills to Africans after several years experience because they had no "energy and ambition to learn" and "they make little use of the knowledge after learning" when they returned to their villages. "Even though they be converted it [artisan skills] is of but little use except to the missionary himself."[1]

But these were minority voices, for all three stations included industrial work, both for station maintenance needs and income and later in their evangelical teacher training schools justified on moral grounds. The SMS Training School at Mukimbungu, unlike Kimpese, gave little stress to vocational training for though they thought such skills as carpentry useful, the SMS missionaries in charge did not place the same stress as the Baptists on its character building properties.[2] This is not to say that vocational instruction had no place in SMS education---many students at central stations learned[3] skills needed by the station---and some SMS missionaries later justified the program on spiritual lines,[4] but as with other missions vocational training was utilitarian not spiritual and limited not general.

While vocational education began and continued to be principally motivated by economic necessity and financial need, by the turn of the

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[1]J. A. Finch, B.M.M., September 1895, pp. 495-496.

[2]Rev. K. E. Laman, G.C.R., 1904, pp. 28-31. See also, G.C.R., 1902, pp. 25-26.

[3]Svenska, p. 14.

[4]Rev. Emil Ekström, G.C.R., 1907, p. 145.

century mission societies came to justify such utilitarian training, including simple manual labor, in religious terms. Indeed, work was raised to the rank of moral education. This stategy of missionaries in the field was needed for two principal reasons, both financially motivated. First, the English and American Protestant missions in the Congo wanted to dissociate themselves from the so-called self-support missions such as that of Bishop Taylor. Representatives of this latter group spoke extensively in the United States intimating they could entirely support themselves in the field by establishing "industrial missions," stations where the Africans and missionaries raised all their food needs. In practice when these missionaries arrived in the Congo they virtually perished. They were reduced to spending their entire time on buffalo hunting and none on evangelization. The regular Protestant societies wished to show that some vocational education could be religiously stimulating, but not entirely self-supporting. That is, financial assistance from the metropole faithful was still necessary. Second, the missionaries both Protestant and Catholic, were called to defend their secular actions against domestic contributors who complained that time spent upon vocational education and other mundane tasks detracted the missionaries from their principal purpose, evangelization. Thus, the missionaries needed to assure their financial backers, unfamiliar with conditions and problems in the field, that utilitarian pursuits had religious results.

First, and obviously the easiest religious justification of manual labor and vocational education was that associated with the Christian ethic of industriousness or the Gospel of Work. Vocational training would build character by developing habits of industry and thereby

serve as "an antidote...for the poison of idleness...a great weakness in the character of the natives."[1] That is, regular work would expiate from the African his cardinal sin---laziness---and in turn would inculcate in him the virtues of discipline and regular habits, so necessary to practice of the Christian faith. Grenfell wrote "it is as important for the missionaries chief purpose as it is for the country that habits of industry should be formed."[2] This was the predominant Catholic view as well. When Roelens wrote as follows in 1903 he was echoing many similar Catholic missionary comments: "Here [Baudouinville] as elsewhere and more than elsewhere laziness is a source of vices and disorders. If one wants to civilize the Blacks, it is necessary that at the same time that one teaches them morals, to habituate them to work. Without work no teaching will be able to bear good fruits and the Black will always remain what he is today---a savage."[3]

In addition work would preserve the African from further sins such as backsliding into indolence or from sensuality, obscene dances, drunkeness and other traditional pleasures, which obviously took time.

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[1]Rev. H. Ross Phillips of BMS at San Salvador, G.C.R., 1904, pp. 45-56. See similar comments by Alfred Stonelake of BMS, G.C.R., 1906, p. 61 and J. Sidney Bowskill at San Salvador, M.H., May 1908, p. 144; M.I., August 1901, p. 174.

[2]Grenfell to Denis, III/28/1895, from Bolobo quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 394.

[3]"Rapport sur la Mission du Haut-Congo, juin 1902-juin 1903," Missions des PB, octobre 1903, p. 293.

> In pushing this industrial phase, we would not have you feel for a moment we are neglecting in the least degree our religious duties...In bringing the gospel to this benighted people, we would not forget to teach them the grand lesson of the nobility of honor of industrial labor... but we also believe that the introduction of the higher phases of industry will divert their minds from many of their superstitious ways; be the means of closing many of the workshops of Satan.[1]

Second, such things as agricultural work would "teach them to see God's finger in all His wonderful works" and would "enlarge their thoughts."[2] The shift in attitude toward industrial education of the CBM is a good example of what was meant by enlarging their thoughts. In announcing the opening of the Industrial Department of the Mission in 1895 the official journal stated; "This is not to be in any sense a self-support work, or have we in view primarily the education and civilization of the natives though it will, of course, in some degree accomplish both, but it is hoped that by the supply of fresh vegetables, fowls, and meat of some kind, there may be a marked difference in health..."[3] However, five years later the rhetoric held that the Industrial Department taught the African the "dignity of labor,"[4] "regular and industrious habits"[5] and "expands the native mind and reason" thereby making conversion more likely.[6]

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[1] Miss., November 1906, p. 508.

[2] Mrs. Gwen Lewis from Kimpese, V/12/1909 quoted in Hawker, An English Woman's Twenty-Five Years in Tropical Africa, p. 318.

[3] R.B., June 1895, p. 281.

[4] R.B., January-February 1900, p. 51---"Gradually they learn to understand the great Christian law that if any do not work neither shall they eat."

[5] R. B., January-February 1901, p. 39.

[6] R.B., November 1902, p. 315.

In addition it brought a sizeable number of boys and men "under a steady Christian influence" for nine or ten months, while they built houses on the mission station.

Thirdly, "industrial training" would give Christians and prospective converts material well-being above that of their neighbors and in the missionary view would undoubtedly tempt the pagans who envied their Christian neighbor's better house and garden to go to the mission. Industrial training provided the African with a useful occupation and the ability to better his own living conditions by constructing better houses and furniture.[1] "There is a great work to do in teaching the native to use his own hands to better his own condition; thus uplifting him from indolence and beggery to usefulness and independence, which is so lacking in the native life."[2] The African teacher-evangelists as well as ex-station school pupils would in turn be able to teach villagers how to build better houses and thereby "elevate the people."[3] By making the people dissatisfied with what they had, the evangelist could show them a better way of living.[4] Industrial training also contributed to the general uplift of the population by encouraging them "to be more independent, to establish larger and better homes, cultivate larger and better fields, and to raise more

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[1]Dye comment in G.C.R., 1904, p. 31.

[2]FCMS Annual Report for 1902-03, M.I., November 1903, p. 405; See also, ibid., August 1901, p. 174.

[3]Thomas Lewis, M.H., January 1908, p. 20.

[4]Alfred Stonelake of BMS, G.C.R., 1906, p. 61.

fowls and goats."[1] Thus, "missions by means of the technical training they are furnishing and by reason of the habits of industry they are inculcating, are also contributing in small measure to the future development of the people."[2] The same goal, minus the independent notion, was also a purpose of Jesuit agricultural work---the monetary success of the ferme-chapelle serving as an example to the surrounding Africans to begin to plant better crops and come under the influence of the mission.[3]

Fourthly, industrial training was also justified on the basis that it provided affluent church members who could not only support themselves, but could contribute to the self-support of the church. By preparing the African "to take the largest and most influential positions in the development of the Colony" the influence of Christianity would be greater. Since "the only thing open to the Congolese is along the mechanical and manual lines"[4] vocational training served this function.

Fifth, vocational education was to counter the increasing difficulties of controlling the behavior of the new educated "elite." Vocational education or indeed simply manual work was said to help cure the new malady of "swelled head" which the missionaries claimed "had a tendency to accompany book knowledge."[5] This fear of an intellectual

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[1] Miss., November 1906, p. 508.

[2] Grenfell to Denis from Bolobo, III/28/1895, quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 394.

[3] Van Hencxthoven, undated, Missions belges, août 1899, pp. 326-327.

[4] Bedinger, p. 63.

[5] J. Clark of Ikoko, "Boarding Schools," G.C.R., 1906, p. 112. Sims at Leopoldville, heavily influenced by the Lovedale system in

elite was shared by most mission orders. Industrial training was to be included in the Training Institute at Yakusu because:

> We are firmly convinced that the Lokele youth will not be much the better for the ability to read and write unless it is accompanied by some manual training which will help to develop his character. He has got infinite capacity for conceit, and quickly suffers from the painful complaint of swelled head. It is necessary for his good, his sure advancement, to keep his nose down, that he may not take the bit between his teeth and run away with the notion that he knows everything because he has begun to know something.[1]

Father Butaye, Director of the Jesuit central school at Kisantu, wrote as early as 1901: "the school is useless, it would be even dangerous, if there was not beside it another training, the training to work, the struggle against the indolence and laziness, a powerful impulsion towards all useful work, agriculture, cash crop production, trades; from this will rise well-being and sufficiency. With sufficiency one will be able to dream of the fine arts."[2] Manual work was seen as the method to change egotism and selfishness, the worst character traits of the Africans in the missionary view. This sentiment was echoed by his colleagues. Father Brielman wrote from Sanda station "to wish to civilize these people given to laziness by the teaching only of reading and writing is a utopia. It is necessary in addition to inspire them with the love of work and that is why we add to study manual exercises."[3] This tempering of the elite by vocational education or manual work continued a central feature of Jesuit policies

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South Africa, as early as 1896 claimed agricultural work was even needed to "correct the pride" which came from learning a trade. See, Annual Report for 1896, B.M.M., July 1897, p. 408.

[1]Smith, Yakusu, p. 273.

[2]Father Butaye, XI/17/1901, from Kisantu, Missions belges, février 1902, p. 60.

[3]A. Brielman at Sanda, XII/28/1906, Missions belges, mars 1907, p. 103.

long after annexation. "The trades and agriculture will keep the children in their simplicity and will prevent arrogance from arising in a too literary education."[1]

Finally, industrial training had tactical advantages to the missions. Such skills would allow evangelists to support themselves, to serve as an example to others and to give them a "wedge" or pretext whereby they met many people because of their vocational work and could use this as an opportunity to "drop in a word" on Christianity.[2] The APCM Ibanj Industrial School served definite religious functions. It was used to attract boys for religious instruction[3] and it was found that conversions were more frequent among these boys. "All the more advanced boys" at the Ibanj Industrial School were also being trained as evangelists and Sunday school teachers for this was "our highest aim in establishing the industrial school."[4] Being the highly skilled member of a village would give the evangelist respect[5]

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[1]Gabriel, p. 10.

[2]Alfred Stonelake of BMS, G.C.R., 1906, p. 61.

[3]"It brings and holds many boys under the religious influence of the missions." Mrs. Althea Brown Edmiston from Ibanj, Miss., October 1907, p. 482.

[4]A. L. Edmiston, "Industrial School in the Congo," Miss., September 1907, p. 439.

[5]Wathen stepped up their industrial training of prospective evangelists in 1902 in response to the fact that more and more Congolese were returning to their towns after a period of wage employment in the towns for the State, trading firms and railway. Because of their new skills the missionaries observed the villagers accorded them much respect and prestige. But these men had picked up "evil European habits" which were also imitated by their village admirers and which caused the missions much anxiety. "We want to compete with these young fellows, by showing that boys taught on the mission station possess also trades and abilities and having been trained in a clean, wholesome atmosphere desire only the good of their fellows and to lead them in right ways." Thus, it was concluded by the BMS at Wathen that

and most important would make him self-supporting. In turn when he passed on his skills he not only improved village living standards, but his parishioners then had a means of additional livelihood, a necessary factor if native churches were to become self-supporting.

This financial aspect never died out of missionary comments on industrial training, despite the new rhetoric. It was still pointed out by ABMU missionaries in the Congo that vocational education on mission stations was "money producing instead of money absorbing,"[1] in that pupils could make products for sale and also that "the difficulty of obtaining sufficient food for the needs of the school makes gardening a necessity."[2] An APCM missionary wrote in 1906:

> We want to take a select few, and, according to our means and facilities, teach them trades, which will not only help to raise them to higher and loftier ideals, but will also be of invaluable service to our mission, greatly lessening our expenses; for within a very short time we shall be able to dispense with the carpenters and masons from the West Coast and shall also be able to make all our chairs and other household furniture, instead of transporting it from London...[3]

Even Kimpese United Training school and the new Native Training Institute at Yakusu included "industrial work" in the curriculum.[4] At Kimpese all pupils did some agricultural work and learned building skills because each couple was required to build his own house, as well as to cooperate in station construction and to maintain his own garden. It was hoped in this way the school could do "without

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"industrial training" could be "a great blessing to the country..." Rev. J.R.M. Stephens, M.H., March 1903, p. 143.

[1] B.M.M., March 1906, p. 92

[2] Annual Report of the ABMU for 1906, p. 183.

[3] Miss., November 1906, p. 508.

[4] Stapleton at Yakusu proposed industrial work in his request to BMS Committee. See, M.H., January 1907, p. 18.

monetary help from the native churches" and thereby make the school self-supporting.[1]

The Jesuits and ABMU are good examples of the shift in attitude from the original financial reasons for introducing vocational education to its later justification on moral grounds. The Jesuits began using agriculture for subsistence purposes by creating small producing units called fermes-chapelles. Writing in June 1895 the first Jesuit Superior, Van Hencxthoven, said:

> These secondary posts which I propose to establish from point to point, will be not only centers of evangelization, but as so many small farms of the mission. The black who will be in charge of it, will raise for our benefit, chickens, pigs and sheep. Thus, each [secondary] post will contribute to the supplying of the colony [Kisantu central station], which will little by little permit us to reduce our expenses."[2]

But these fermes-chapelles were so successful in producing an abundance of food far beyond subsistence needs[3] that by 1899 the Jesuits began the production of cash crops---kola, cocoa, coffee, rubber---and made the fermes-chapelles and their station plantations income producing units. The commercial crops could be sold to the State and railway company[4] and thus provide sufficient resources not only to support the

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[1] M.H., January 1908, p. 20.

[2] VI/14/1895, quoted in Laveille, p. 158. See similar comments by Jesuit missionaries in Missions belges, novembre 1899, pp. 415-417; juin 1900, p. 201.

[3] The typical ferme-chapelle before cash crops were introduced cultivated with 40-60 children about five acres of maize, beans and perhaps in addition a grove of several thousand banana trees. See Father Hanquet, III/12/1899, Missions belges, juillet 1899, p. 273.

[4] Pierpont, p. 104. At Wombali as in Van Hencxthoven's early days as Superior in the Lower Congo, he stressed commercially-profitable work. While at Wombali there was some agricultural work, commercial production was different. Some secondary posts cut wood for steamers, others made baskets for holding rubber for export for the Kasai Company,

agricultural, educational and religious activities of the fermes-chapelles, defray the costs of certain central mission activities, and most important, provide the necessary financial resources for expansion of more fermes-chapelles.[1] Using hundreds of Africans to produce income for the mission was only later justified on spiritual grounds. The African should learn a love of work as an element in building character.[2] "Besides the material well-being that work brings in itself, there is a spiritual good. The negro who works remains a good Christian, devoted to the practice of virtue, while an unemployed or idle one is vicious and often corrupt."[3] This sort of rhetoric was developed in response to the frequent criticisms made by Jesuit supporters in Belgium that missionaries in the field spent too much time on material activities and neglected the spiritual side of missionary work.[4]

As for the ABMU, industrial education, until the early 20th century, was viewed as so subsidiary a help to evangelization that with one or

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others grew tobacco and made cigars which they sold locally and some bought chickens and goats and resold them at a profit to children at Wombali station who in turn resold them at a profit at the Kwamouth market. These Jesuit out-stations from Wombali were called "posts" rather than "fermes-chapelles." See Father A. Lauwers at Wombali, Missions belges, octobre 1906, p. 370 for a comprehensive description.

[1]Van Hencxthoven, Missions belges, août 1899, p. 327; Van Wing, p. 24. Financial statements are unavailable for the Jesuit Congo mission and despite the tremendous increase in the number of fermes-chapelles, the Jesuits always pleaded financial lack and asked for more donations from Belgium.

[2]J. Banckaert, Missions belges, janvier 1903, p. 31.

[3]Missions belges, décembre 1900, p. 453.

[4]Extract of a report by Father Hendrick at Ndembo to Provincial, Missions belges, septembre 1900, pp. 327-328.

two exceptions, it was hardly ever mentioned, let alone systematically encouraged, in official ABMU literature written by home office staff. The 1892 Committee made a vague and tentative statement of the desirability that some industrial work be included in the curriculum, particularly of boarding schools.[1] In 1897 the extensive ABMU survey of their Asiatic missions took up the theme and particularly stressed the desirability of systematic development of industrial education for converts.[2] Even the haphazard activity in this line so far attempted, the Survey found, had "contributed materially to the progress of the Gospel." The main advantage to be gained from offering industrial education, the Survey pointed out, was to increase the native Church member's income so that he could (1) support himself apart from the traditional domestic economy from which he was frequently excluded upon conversion, and (2) contribute financially to the support of the native Church and the extension of Christianity.

> The young people we educate, unless they are fit to become preachers and teachers are in danger of being lifted up from the lowest level simply to be thrust back again hindered rather than helped by their education...As carpenters, printers, balcksmiths, cabinetmakers, shoemakers, weavers, stenographers, they can earn a comfortable living, and open centers for training others and giving them employment... An immediate improvement in the social condition would follow, and with it an increase of contributing power from which both the school and the church and also the work of the evangelist would derive benefit; results which if there were no other, amply justify the wide use of mission funds in the promotion of such an object.[3]

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[1]A. R. of Committee for 1893, B.M.M., July 1894, p. 200

[2]"Survey of Asiatic Missions with some Suggestions as to Future Mission Policy," in Annual Report for 1897, B.M.M., July 1898, pp. 261-267.

[3]Ibid.

Concern over industrial education and work now got increasing coverage in Union literature. Several editorials the following year confirmed the official shift in policy by openly advocating that industrial education "is indispensable if we are to have self-sustaining churches and so root Christianity firmly in the soil."[1] Therefore, Christians must have a means of livelihood not entirely dependent upon the traditional African community. Otherwise there might become large numbers of poor converts dependent upon the charity of the mission.

But this official concern with vocational education on the part of the ABMU Home Committee and other mission societies came long after such instruction was a common practice in the field. The missionaries early began industrial education due largely to material necessity. ABMU missionaries, Richards at Banza Manteke and Clark at Ikoko, included industrial work in their station curricula from an early period out of necessity. Certain Congolese were taught the needed building crafts in order to meet the immediate needs of station construction and provisioning. This also provided a means of employing and supporting the children in the mission schools particularly if they were boarders. But after the 1897 policy shift in keeping with Home Committee policy, it was justified on the basis it helped "to make the school as far as possible self-supporting"[2] or enabled the young convert to earn

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[1]Annual Report for 1893, B.M.M., July 1894, p. 200; August 1899, p. 424. The policy was continued. See a similar editorial in B.M.M. March 1904, p. 90.

[2]Richards in ABMU Annual Report for 1887, B.M.M., July 1888, p. 293.

his own support and thereby to "share in the needed support of the Lord's work by their having money to give..."[1]

After the turn of the century, industrial education received increased attention as part of the re-evaluation of the whole role of education by the ABMU. In March 1906 the entire issue of the Baptist Missionary Magazine was devoted to "Industrial Missions." Now was introduced the idea that industrial work contributes directly to moral training and the building of character. The interest shown in teaching trades is heavily influenced by the philosophy of Booker T. Washington of Tuskeegee and H.B. Frissnell of Hampton Institute. For example, Washington is quoted sympathetically by the Union as saying:

> From all that I am able to learn with regard to the work of foreign missionaries, the practical problem they have to face is in all points like the one which the industrial schools are seeking to solve here in the South. The only way I can see to save the weaker races from the degradation and disintegration that so often comes from their contact with the stronger races---in short the only way to save primitive people from the destructive forces of civilization--- is to teach them to be useful to that civilization and inspire them with its religious and moral ideals.[2]

Here was the needed connection between evangelization and industrial education. Industrial work was thought to contribute directly to moral training. Thus, industrial work could now be justified on the basis, not only that it saved money, but that it promoted the central goal of evangelization. Through industrial education "Christian

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[1]Joseph Clark at Ikoko, B.M.M., May 1900, pp. 174-175, 191.

[2]B.M.M., March 1906, p. 94.

character is developed, independence through earning livelihood is made possible, and self-support of the church becomes practical."[1] The hand, mind and heart must all be developed and industrial work did much to inculcate habits of industry as well. In addition it was pointed out there was Biblical precedent in that the Bible stated that each Jewish boy learned a trade and also the apostolic precedent that Paul, the first missionary, supported himself while preaching by working at a trade. The necessary rhetoric was complete. Industrial work had received the official benediction.

EDUCATIONAL RESULTS OF MISSION GOALS

There are several factors within the consideration of mission goals and the role of education which should be reemphasized. First, Protestant educational activities, particularly those of Group I societies, served as a catalyst to other school districts, a role typically played by State schools in Europe and America. With the exception of the WF Catholic mission orders underestimated the value of education as a means of evangelization. Only because of religious competition from the Protestants did Catholic orders, and then not all of them, begin to take an interest in schools and profane instruction. The result of such mission rivalry was a significant expansion in the number of schools, frequently with little relation to the staff and material resources available. Frequently it became more important "to get their first" than to plan quality expansion. In any case by 1908 mission societies in Group I and II had come to realize the several religious advantages to be derived from schools and

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[1] B.M.M., March 1906, p. 91

all, with the important exception of the Scheutists and other Group III orders, had begun educational effort and placed school activities in an important place in their total program.

Group III societies limited their evangelical activities in the Congo almost solely to direct preaching and saw little value in education. While this group included only four Catholic orders, it contained the largest Belgian order, the Scheutists. In addition the Scheutists were responsible for two of the remaining three orders in this group in that the MHF and the Trappists did not have their own ecclesiastic jurisdiction, but operated under the general supervision of the Scheutists.

Second, since mission goals were narrowly religious and because schools were viewed solely as an agency of evangelism, curricula was very limited concentrating mainly upon religion. This meant that schooling was primarily literary-oriented, despite policy statements to the contrary.

Third, the heterogeneous nature of mission educational effort, due to their various views of the efficacy of the school as an agent of evangelism, contributed to an unequal distribution of educational opportunity. Those geographical and ethnic areas served by Group I mission societies had far more educational opportunity than other regions.

Finally, and this cannot be reemphasized too frequently, mission societies added education to their activities solely to promote religious ends. Thus, it would seem logical to conclude that had the Christian missions not seen some evangelical advantages in education

they would have had little motivation to engage in educational activities. In that case unless the government devoted more financial and staff resources to education there would have been few schools at all in the Congo. To criticize the lack of mission education facilities without taking into consideration their goals is to completely misunderstand the reasons for educational development in Belgian Africa.

Chapter IV

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND MISSION POLICIES

While the extent of educational effort was principally determined by the view each mission society had as to the role the school might play in furthering religious goals, the type of educational organization chosen were closely related to the conception each mission society had as to the role the African should play in colonial society. This concept involved what his political role, if any, should be, what changes were necessary in his environment, and what degree he should participate in the new modern sector of the economy. Obviously this new colonial society, as conceived by the missionaries, was related to their central civilizing and religious goals. Educational policy, if not practice, was designed to assist in affecting these goals.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain and comparatively analyze the political, social, and economic policy views of the 18 different mission societies. A very brief description of mission methods and educational organization should suffice to illustrate the general framework in which mission educational policies took place.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND MISSION METHODS

Group I missions organized their activities, including education, into a hierarchical system of institutions involving central station

schools and a large network of out-stations or village schools. Group II and III missions fitted predominately into one of three types of development; constant village itineration with little central station build up, such as the CMA, or little village follow-up but the development of central stations with a day school for local children (e.g. FCMS, CBM, GEM, APCM) or a vast self-contained station orphanage and Christian village for repurchased slaves (e.g. Upper Kasai Scheutists, SHF, Premonstratensians, Trappists).

Apostolic Method

Constant itineration or direct evangelization by missionaries was typical of many Group II and III mission societies at the beginning. Here the missionary himself went out into African villages to teach and preach. For example, during the founding period of the GEM, when there averaged only two European missionaries throughout the whole Katanga, each spent most of his time itinerating rather than building a central station. In Group II and III mission school districts, where the missionaries viewed their role as directly carrying the Gospel to as many as possible over as wide an area as feasible, they had little time and less inclination to build up central station activities. The CMA disdained strong fixed central stations and boarding schools.[1] Indeed, they were opposed to the

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[1]Boarding schools were particularly to be discouraged. In 1897 "somewhat belatedly...yet early enough to be effective" the Alliance decided against the boarding school system of supporting and training large numbers of children. While they recognized that it did result in some conversions, "it boded no good for the future church and took up a vast amount of time and effort." Ekvall, pp. 108-110. Why it "boded no good for the future church" is never explained nor did they take into account the fact that their first converts in 1891 had been boys from the Vungu and Ngangila station schools.

development of any organized central station work. The 1906 semi-annual Conference of CMA Missionaries in the Congo laid "emphasis... upon the need of spending much time in itinerating trips...and keeping with this to have only the plainest buildings upon our stations and as few as reasonably consistent with the actual needs especially in the opening of new work."[1] Instead of institution building, the emphasis was placed upon direct evangelization by the missionaries[2] or as the official historian would later put it, the missionaries "itinerated ceaselessly."[3]

Groups II and III mission school districts used Africans as assistants only because of difficulties in direct evangelization and then they were used neither extensively nor efficiently. Obviously in these societies teaching was limited to oral repetition of prayers and catechisms, relating of Bible stories and the singing of hymns. Missionaries in Groups II and III did not stay long enough in any one village to develop sustained educational work or institutions, nor did they concentrate upon preparing African teachers. If one was covering an area the size of Texas with only a handful of European staff, it was impossible to give meaningful instruction in one particular location. School systems of Groups II and III tended to be continually at the a,b,c, level because there was no hierarchy of schools. Since they did not use African evangelist-teachers extensively or efficiently, little secular instruction took place in the

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[1]CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 143.

[2]CMA, Annual Report for 1899, p. 58.

[3]Ekvall, p. 110.

villages. Thus, pupils who came to the central station schools were beginners. Since these pupils were beginners, there was no possibility of an advanced school on the station. Therefore, their educational system was limited to one type of school---a very elementary primary school at the central station.

In the early decades in the Congo great emphasis was placed upon this means of obtaining converts, namely direct preaching. While many Group II missions later came to realize that teacher training was important, when it came down to action, they were not willing to withdraw limited staff resources from continual itineration and develop a station teacher training school. Group III missions uniformly continued to emphasize direct evangelization or continual itineration by the missionaries themselves. Even after experience, when some began a token use of African catechists, the mission was unwilling either to train them or to trust them by devolving any responsibility.

Group III mission districts, all Catholic, had no preference between children or adults nor did they in most cases develop any by 1908, despite the fact that in many cases they had been in the Congo as long as Group I societies. Missions in this group tended to take advantage of conglomerations of Africans, such as those in military training camps or garrisons, railway, plantation and urban dockyard workers' camps. They tended to look upon the care of children as a nuisance rather than an opportunity and measured their religious success simply in the number of new baptisms, lamenting without understanding, the connection between their methods and the continual backsliding of their converts.

Hierarchical System

The opposite of constant itineration or the apostolic method was indirect evangelization where the role of the missionary was that of trainer, instructor and institution builder. Residing in a well-established central station, he created and supervised a system of smaller village institutions run by those trained on the central station. This became the most successful pattern of educational development because it created a strong, hierarchical system of schools which concentrated upon (1) training Africans, (2) maintaining strict coordination between teacher training and educational expansion and (3) planning educational selection.

1. Training Africans to Teach and Go Forth

Group I missions concentrated upon preparing Africans to assist them in religious and educational activities. They early recognized that the Gospel could never be spread over a vast area by a handful of Europeans. Evangelization and the spread of Christianity in central Africa would depend upon Africans. In this manner European missionary strength could be concentrated in one spot and devolve down to the mass through well-trained African evangelists and catechists. This way religious influence could be spread further afield than the missionaries themselves, acting directly, could ever hope to do. Therefore, Group I missions began immediately to prepare Africans as catechists and evangelists and in turn to send them out to establish village schools as centers for religious training.

Since Group I school districts concentrated upon using Africans, their central stations became centers for training teachers and providing for their subsequent supervision in the field. The central

station was viewed as a center for teacher training from which African catechist-teachers would go forth to spread the Word and Faith by establishing smaller, but similiar, schools in the villages.

There was a deliberate devolution of education from the central station out by means of these African teachers. But it was a two-way flow. Those pupils who did well in the village schools of the African teacher were then brought in to the central station for more advanced training. Those who showed special promise in the station primary school were given even more specialized training to prepare them to return to their people as village teachers and thereby further expand education and religious influence. Thus, there was a hierarchical progression of education from village to central station primary school to a final advanced teacher training school serving pupils from all central stations. This latter, located at one of the central stations, was viewed as the apex of a hierarchical educational ladder or system of schools. Mukimbungu, Mpala, Banza Manteke (and later Kimpese) and Kisantu were apexes of the educational systems of the SMS, WF, BMS, ABMU and Jesuits. Progession through this hierarchy of institutions was based partly upon educational achievement not just religious zeal.

2. Balanced Educational Expansion

Not only are those mission societies with the greatest educational effort characterized by strong central stations together with a hierarchical system of schools designed to prepare African assistants, but they also share the characteristic of being acutely aware of the necessity to expand schools only in conjunction with the maintenance of standards in teacher preparation. Group I societies

were acutely aware of this concept of balanced expansion currently in vogue in educational planning literature, although some individual stations (e.g. Yakusu) were unable to resist African requests for schools and soon found their quality standards dropping.

3. Planned Educational Selection

From their very first arrival in the Congo Group I mission societies immediately concentrated their efforts upon children. This did not mean that they refused to give the sacraments or religious instruction to adults. In many cases they did. However, the WF and the Jesuits gave only oral religious instruction to adults, literacy efforts being reserved exclusively for the more maleable and "intelligent" children. The BMS, ABMU and SMS also from the beginning concentrated upon children, although most of their stations had evening schools where adult workers on the station were taught at least to read and write. The major difference between Protestant and Catholic orders in Group I was that the former worked with local children, while the WF and the Jesuits, like other Catholic orders, "recruited" mainly repurchased slave children.

Central Station Development

The great majority of Group II and III mission societies also concentrated upon building and maintaining central stations which were both the missionaries' permanent residence and the center for religious activities. However, it should be pointed out that while the development of strong central stations was necessary to hierarchical development of educational institutions, such as those typical of Group I, strong, organized central stations could be created without developing village or station schools, particularly as training centers

from which Africans would go forth to spread the Word. Indeed, in none of these Group II and III centers was the principal function of station activities teacher training or the development of a center of devolution of influence. Thus, they were not concerned with problems of balanced educational expansion.

In contrast to Group I mission societies, who from the beginning put their hope and efforts into changing children, Group II and III missions took anyone who came. Group II societies differ from Group III orders in that they changed their policy after experience. After a number of years' rather unsuccessful religious efforts in the Congo, Group II societies, too, began saying that any hope for social change in central Africa lay with children. This realization coincided with renewed interest in education by these school districts. For example, the CMA, even after they began using African evangelists, still concentrated mainly upon adults in out-station work, no special effort being made to attract or change children.[1] It was not until 1908, after almost 20 years in the Congo, that they began to see the importance and need of reaching children. It was only in 1908 that for the first time the CMA Annual Report spoke of "the great number" of children as being "one of the most encouraging features of the Congo work."[2]

EDUCATION AND SOCIO-POLITICAL POLICY

The social or "native" policy of each mission order had a profound

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[1]CMA, Annual Report for 1905, p. 23.

[2]CMA, Annual Report for 1908, p. 21.

influence on the choice of mission methods and educational organization. Their conception of the nature and role of the New African Man, the relationship of environment to change and the presence and orientation of an elite all were reinforced by specific educational procedures.

The Nature and Role of the New African Man

There were wide differences in the positive role Belgian Catholic and foreign Protestant mission societies envisioned the African playing in colonial society. To be sure he would have very different character traits than those he reputedly possessed at initial contact. As conceived by the Catholic missions in place of vanity and conceit would come humility and modesty; instead of untrustworthiness, duty and obedience would be demanded; for lying and cheating truthfulness and honesty would be substituted. Pagan immorality, license, vagabondage and independence would give way to piety, docility a "love for prayer and catechism"[1] and dependence on the nearest Catholic mission. Above all laziness, inconstance of application and irregularity of habit would be replaced by disciplined work. In place of the "carefree" pagan would come "good and fervent Christians."[2] Nowhere

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[1]Sister Superior Ignatia de la Croix to Rev. Mother General, undated, from Ndembo, Missions belges, mai 1899, p. 191.

[2]Sister Marie Godieliève to Superior in Belgium at Ghent, X/21/1892, from Nemlao, Missions en Chine et au Congo, janvier 1893, pp. 191-192. Such descriptions appear over and over in Catholic missionary letters. For particularly representative statements, see Missions belges, avril 1900, p. 138; février 1902, p. 65; mars 1903, p. 112; juillet 1903, p. 246; février 1904, p. 74; avril 1904, p. 148; septembre 1907, p. 329; Jesuit Ivon Struyf, "Psychologie des Bacongos," Oeuvres Catholiques au Congo p. 13; Missions des PB, novembre 1907, p. 347; Missions en Chine et au Congo, novembre 1894, p. 541; juin

do the Catholic missionaries speak of developing responsibility as a character trait. This was the function of the priest; obedience the duty of the faithful.

Self-reliance and individual responsibility, however, were the keys to Protestant conceptions of the Christian society and the New African Man. The Protestant ideal of the New African Man was a self-reliant, self-responsible, pious, Bible-reading individual, economically self-sufficient and thereby able to contribute to the church. Living by Christian ideals of monogamy, truthfulness, honesty, industriousness and service to the community, and, of course, without the pernicious elements of pagan immorality, each individual would help to propagate the faith by spreading the Word of God and setting an example to others in his village.

As was repeatedly pointed out by Protestant spokesmen, the goal of their missions in the Congo was "self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating native churches."[1] That is, the Protestant societies envisioned the establishment of independent African churches, financed by their members and led by a missionary-trained African clergy. The

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1903, pp. 133-134; février 1906, p. 25; Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacre-Coeur, janvier 7, 1896, p. 13; Trappist F. Berchmans to his sister, XII/24/1898, from Bamania, Mouvement Antiesclaviste, juin 1899, pp. 90-91; and Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1910, pp. 58-61.

[1]Paper by Rev. Kenred Smith of BMS, G.C.R., 1907, p. 72. A FCMS missionary wrote: "the aim of the missionaries has been, from the beginning, that the church should, as soon as possible, commence... to become a really indigenous, self-propagating and self-governing church..." See Andrew F. Hensey, My Children of the Forest (New York: Doran, 1924), p. 187. A similar statement was made in a paper by Henry Richards of the ABMU at the next Protestant Conference: "It must be the goal of all missionary effort, not only to gain converts, but to teach and organize them into strong, self-sustaining and propagating churches." See G.C.R., 1909, p. 47. It is interesting to note that Richards omitted the term self-governing. See also, Missions in

missionary would train and supervise in the early stage of church development and undoubtedly would have to remain for many years in that role. But ultimately he would withdraw leaving a self-propagating, self-supporting, self-governing native church tied only by bonds of faith with the mother church.

While the Protestant missionaries agreed, almost unanimously, that the African Christian should be responsible for financing his own church and for propagating and sustaining the faith immediately, their time-table for self-government was subject to controversy. Rev. Kenred Smith of the BMS in a paper read at the Fourth General Conference of [Protestant] Missionaries in 1907[1] warned his colleagues: "let us beware lest in Congoland we keep our native Christians in leading strings too long...Let us train our converts to manage their own Church affairs, not hesitating to put upon them the responsibility of electing and supporting their own pastors." While the goal of financial self-support by African Christians of some of the work on a self-sustaining basis had been achieved, Smith concluded, "let us not rest satisfied until our Churches are self-governing and self-propagating."[2] But his own BMS colleagues, as well as ABMU missionaries, quickly spoke[3] of the dangers of rushing into self-government of African churches at the moment because decentralization would destroy

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Africa. The Congo (Boston: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1915), p. 38; similar comments by Rev. Henry Richards of the ABMU, B.M.M., May 1890, pp. 124-125; Bedinger, p. 115.

[1] G.C.R., 1907, p. 82.

[2] Ibid., p. 83.

[3] BMS missionaries, J. Whitehead, and C.H. Harvey, ibid., pp. 85-87.

the strength of new mission churches and in any case the Africans were not yet ready or mature enough for full responsibility.

While some of the Protestant missions were hesitant, such religious self-government was clearly being given serious attention in practice as early as 1907 and if some cautioned against moving too fast, it nonetheless remained their ultimate goal. A FCMS missionary summed up the prevalent view when he wrote: "Dare we not to hope that one day they may be untied from the missionary 'apron string' and be allowed to work out their own life? It may be that it will be a hundred years before these churches, born only yesterday, out of the grossest heathenism, are ready for self-government."[1]

It is fair to say the Protestant missions wanted to pass leadership and financial responsibility to African Christians. This was to develop leadership, responsibility and moral character "for which there is no stimulus afforded under a regime where the burdens are transferred to other shoulders" Grenfell remarked[2] of Catholic mission methods in the Congo. That is, the situation was exactly the reverse in Catholic mission policy. Here the WF of Group I and the Scheutists of Group III, indeed all Belgian missions, were in unanimous agreement. In a paternalistic fashion the Catholic priest assumed the burden of his flock and in great measure relieved them of any responsibility for their future well-being so long as they docilely and obediently

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[1]A.F. Hensey, M.I., June 1909, p. 255.

[2]Grenfell to brother-in-law Mr. Hawkes, V/29/1897, quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 393.

subjected themselves to the discipline and direction of the missionaries politically and economically as well as religiously. For example, in the WF missions "the population of the Mission...is submitted in all things to the religious and civil direction of the Fathers."[1] The Africans called the mission "the government" and the missionaries regularly judged cases presiding from their chairs on the verandah.[2] Even the WFs considered it their duty to "incessantly push the native along the path of civilization, to desire and follow that which is profitable for him even a little in spite of him and to lead him as a child with kindness, perserverance and justice.[3] Indeed, the several African satellite villages near Luluabourg were placed within ten minutes walk of the central station "in order to facilitate surveillance" for only a "long education can form him [the African] to do without a master."[4] The Scheutists felt:

> The great advantage of the system in operation at [Luluabourg] is that Christians and catechumens are always under the eye of the missionary. The negro, even converted, remains a negro, that is to say a big child, that it is always necessary to keep in traces; that one can never be able to leave to himself, not even a day, nor an hour, under pain of seeing him return to all the errors of his nature perverted by so many centuries of barbarism.[5]

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[1]WF J. M. Josset, undated, from Kibanga, Missions d'Alger, janvier 1888, p. 226.

[2]Ibid., p. 226.

[3]Roelens to a postulant, Missions des PB, novembre 1907, p. 347.

[4]Cambier at Luluabourg, III/5/1895, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1895, pp. 121-122.

[5]R. F. Auguste Janssens, I/14/1900, Ibid., mai 1900, pp. 439-440.

The Scheutists felt that the Jesuit ferme-chapelle system was too lax in supervision in that the catechistes were left on their own. The missionary biweekly visit meant that "evil flourished in the time between missionary visits."[1] This Scheutist emphasis on authoritarianism was approvingly observed by the Scheutist Provincial Superior visiting Luluabourg in 1899:

> This direct influence every day and at all times on the black is the most efficient and most expeditious means in our opinion of establishing religion in the country in a solid and durable fashion. We cannot be sold on the advantages of liberty because the negroes know only how to abuse it; they are big children whom it is necessary to lead and who love to be led because they find themselves well off with it. [2]

He elaborated further on this theme:

> This present system followed [grouping of Africans into self-contained villages] makes it possible to have a sure and permanent action on our blacks, the first condition to realize in order to undertake their conversion and keep them in perserverance...Thus, the spirit of religion, of work and of submission remain everywhere the same and there is a union between the various missions. [3]

This type of authoritarian paternalism was also followed by the Jesuits. The Sister Superior at Kisantu wrote in 1904 that "it is necessary that a girl be well subjugated in order to submit... to the strict system" of the mission.[4] Indeed, the Jesuit view was that the State was a tutor in relation to pupil people, who were

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[1]Cambier from Luluabourg, XI/16/1902, Ibid., avril 1903, pp. 98-100.

[2]T. R. Superior Auguste de Clercq in Belgium, undated, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, septembre 1899, pp. 155-156.

[3]Ibid., pp. 156-157.

[4]Sister Ignatia de la Croix at Kisantu to Rev. Mother General at Namur, IV/17/1904, Missions belges, juillet 1904, p. 261

unable to govern themselves. The State, of course, delegated its guardianship to the missions. Thus, the Africans were viewed "as a multitude of minors placed under legal guardianship" by the "civilizing" power. It was necessary to substitute the "intelligence of the white" for "the lack of foresight of these minors."[1]

Many of the repurchased slaves at Catholic mission stations considered themselves the property of the Mission superior. The Superior of the Scheutist's in the Kasai, Father Cambier, admitted that "in spite of all one can say to them, they consider themselves slaves of Nganga Bouka [Cambier's Congolese name] but who are in reality my children and the slaves of the Good Lord."[2] Yet Cambier's biographer announced that "his authority became indisputable throughout the Kasai. He appeared in the eyes of the populations entirely haloed by a dazzling glory. Soon he became considered by the subjugated populations as King of the Kasai."[3] A colleague of Cambier wrote, "Go ask the people of our beautiful mission at Luluabourg if they are no longer slaves. Astonished these kids will reply, 'Nganga-Bouka bought us. We belong to him. We are his slaves. He is our master'."[4] A Belgian Protestant leader remarked of his countrymen: "We notice that the spirit and fashion of acting have not changed. It is still the same authoritarianism, the same stifling of individual conscience, the same theocratic dream. We

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[1]Vermeersch, La Question congolaise, pp. 53, 166, 180.

[2]X/10/1892, from Luluabourg, Missions en Chine et au Congo, avril 1893, p. 235.

[3]Albert Mariaule, "Nganga-Bouka"("Medecin-Sorcier"), Le Père Cambier (1865-1943) (Namur:Grands Lacs, 1952), p. 116.

[4]Scheutist Father Charles Seghers to his family from Luluabourg, II/2/97, Missions en Chine et au Congo, décembre 1897, p. 554.

will be curious to see if the future does not repeat the lessons of the past."[1]

The methods of disciplining school children are a good example of mission socio-political policy in action and an indication of the general attitude toward the Congolese and the role they were expected to play. If the civilizing end was in the best interests of the African in the Catholic view, then force and coercion were justified in getting the African, especially to work, and thereby to uplift himself to a higher level of civilization. The mutality of Catholic views on coercion was not only evident from continual missionary statements,[2] but also in the continuous legislation on discipline for children in the State and mission school colonies run by Catholic orders. All the Belgian Catholic missions used corporal punishment on children mainly in the form of lashing.[3] Such corporal punishment was regularly used by the Belgian missionaries for a Regulation[4]

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[1]Rambaud, p. 138.

[2]See, for example, Jesuit Ivon Struyf, "Psychologie des Bacongos," Oeuvres Catholiques au Congo, p. 13---"...forced labor in the good sense is indispensable in the Congo." Or Scheutist Léon Van der Molen, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, janvier 1905, p. 14---"I don't understand how intelligent people can reproach the State for forcing the Blacks to work."

[3]Vermeersch, La Question congolaise, pp. 276-278. He reports receiving communications regarding this matter from the WF, Premonstratensians, SHF and Redemptorists. See also regarding the Jesuits, Laveille, pp. 295-296; Missions belges, mai 1901, p. 180 and Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, novembre 1905, pp. 319-320.

[4]Regulation of Governor-General, X/18/99, Etat indépendant du Congo, Gouvernement central, Recueil usuel de la législation avec des notes de concordance et la jurisprudence des tribinaux de l'Etat indépendant du Congo (Bruxelles: Weissenbruch, 1900), III, pp. 247-248.

"legalizing" such punishments was issued in 1899 "in order to regularize an already existing situation."[1] This did not authorize missionaries to use the whip, only irons and the chain gang, but ten months later the authorized mission school colonies were allowed, at their request, to use up to ten strokes of the whip on boys under sixteen and up to twenty on boys sixteen years of age and over.[2]

Indeed, the disciplinary system of Belgian missionaries was an example and symptom of the rigidity and authoritarianism of Belgian colonial policy in general. There were a good number of Belgian missionaries who believed the African learned only by the whip based upon the conception of the African as a savage brute incapable of any sentiment and guided only by bestial instinct. Others maintained he was a big child, a grand enfant who was capable of higher feelings, but had never been taught nor properly brought up. Whether one subscribed to the "savage brute" or the "big child" conception, Belgian colonialists---State official and missionary alike---were convinced of the efficacy of the lash.

There is no record of Protestant missionaries supporting a policy of corporal punishment of school children. Rev. Charles Harvey of the ABMU represented the Protestant position when he wrote that the relation of the missionary to Africans should be one of

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[1]Vice Governor-General Wangermee to Secretary of State, X/19/99, M/AA, M122 (588).

[2]Arreté of VIII/23/00 and Circular of Governor-General, VIII/24/00, Recueil usuel..., III, pp. 575-576. The local government allowed this use of the whip at the request of Mgr. Van Ronslé and Van Hencxthoven who stated it was "the only really efficient" means of punishment. Governor-General Wahis quoting them in letter of VIII/25/00 to Secretary of State, M/AA, M122 (588).

shepherd to lost sheep. The magistrate might use physical force, "but I fail to see that a missionary, as such, has any authority of the kind."[1] Even if the state delegated magisterial functions, from a missionary viewpoint it wouldn't pay because he would be using brute force in his actions and preaching peace and goodwill. After all, Harvey concluded, the missionary is an ambassador to the people from a peaceful God.[2] A statement by the long-time APCM leader, William Morrison, is illustrative of the prevailing Protestant attitude:

> We should remember first and last that the natives should be treated as kindly and courteously as white people. We should always keep in mind that we are their servants and not their masters. Under their black skins they have feelings and sensibilities similiar to ours, which ought to be respected. If we laugh at their customs, appearance, or fetishes, we destroy their confidence in us and repel them... On the other hand, you will need to maintain your dignity and repress undue familiarity or insolence. Be kind and firm but never harsh.[3]

Contrast this with the view of a Scheutist missionary writing in 1904:

> To conquer by gentleness people until now of a quasi-inferior humanity in relation to our own would have been to waste one's time. Those who think that the Blacks of the Congo can be civilized by simple persuasion and kindness verser dans a profound error. And it is not after 20 or 25 years of civilization that these means can be used...What is necessary now for our black brothers is a great, but just severity... According to some it would be necessary to have the same regard for a vulgar savage scarcely out of the trees, as for a civilized man. Another profound error which has been the cause of bitter disillusions for a large number...[4]

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[1]Paper by Charles Harvey at Palabala, G.C.R., 1904, p. 11.

[2]Ibid., p. 12.

[3]T.C. Vinson, William McCutchan Morrison: Twenty Years in Central Africa (Richmond:Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1921), pp. 136-137.

[4]"A propos du travail et du service militaire des Noirs: simples reflections d'un missionnaire au Congo," signed L.V.D.M. This was

Harvey, like other Protestant missionaries, maintained there were effective means of punishment other than force.[1] In general Protestant missionaries relied upon moral suasion, good example, and self-policing. The Protestant missionaries meeting at Kinchassa in 1909 agreed that the preferable approach in forming church rules was to give African church members responsibility for sharing in the formulation of rules and that the fewer rules made the better.[2] This view can be contrasted with the Catholic mission order heads meeting several years earlier spelling out in great detail the behavior to be exacted from African converts and others under mission influence.[3] Harvey wrote: "If only the rules of the mission station are fair, and are administered in the spirit of fair play and justice" the African "will obey them cheerfully."[4] At Wathen the older pupils took responsibility for the supervision of the young boys in a system similar to that of the English prefect system.[5] The

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undoubtedly written by the Scheutist Father, Léon Van der Molen working in the Luluabourg area, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, janvier 1905, pp. 15-16.

[1]M.I., FCMS Annual Report for 1901-02, November 1902, p. 364; June 1908, p. 235; September 1907, p. 358; Hensey, My Children of the Forest, pp. 197-202; Miss., March 1894, p. 101; February 1900, p. 70; November 1906, p. 507; Bedinger, pp. 64, 183; M.H., August 1879, p. 119; May 1908, pp. 144-147; Sir Harry H. Johnston, George Grenfell and the Congo (London: Hutchinson, 1908), I, p. 486; Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals, pp. 81-83; Smith, Yakusu, p. 13.

[2]G.C.R., 1909, p. 110.

[3]Missions Catholiques du Congo, Aperçu sur certaines questions traitées dans la réunion tenue à Léopoldville en février 1907 (Kisantu: Imprimerie Bergeyck St. Ignace, 1907).

[4]Harvey paper in G.C.R., 1904, p. 10.

[5]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, pp. 393-394.

Protestants admitted that at times punishments were necessary, but the deprivation of privileges or dismissal were held much more in favor by the overwhelming majority of Protestant missionaries,[1] than brute force or curtailment of liberty.[2]

The potential importance of these general views of the mission educators on later colonial policy decisions cannot be stressed enough. Here was one set of mission societies attempting to inculcate self-reliance and individual responsibility, while another set demanded docility and obedience.

Importance of Environment in Affecting Change

Central to affecting this sort of moral character change was environment. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries emphasized its importance, but it was to be used by each "side" of Christianity in a different way.

The Catholic missions unanimously believed the way to civilize the African was to remove him permanently both from the pernicious

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[1]The general discussion following Harvey's paper illustrates overwhelming support of his view. See G.C.R., 1904, pp. 11-12.

[2]Mrs. Dye wrote from Bolenge in 1900, for example, that "instead of punishing in the usual way for absence or misbehavior, we set them [school children] to work in the gardens, paths, grass, etc. for one or more hours, as the case may require. In this way we avoid corporal punishment for these small offenses, get a large amount of work done, and find it just as effective in procuring good attendance." Mrs. Dye in Annual Report for 1900-01, M.I., November 1901, p. 288. Four years later the same method of discipline was being followed: "The discipline and punishments are rather novel. For tardiness and misbehavior they are kept after the regular session, and while some clean the slates, others sweep or scrub the chapel, clean station paths, pick up rotten oranges, or various other little jobs needing to be done." See Mrs. Royal J. Dye in FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 412.

traditional environment of the village and to keep him from the immorality of European towns. He should be brought up within the controlled environment of Christian villages, fermes-chapelles or on the mission station itself.[1] The children, especially, were to be removed from the vices and bad example of pagan adults. The Catholic missionaries were so careful of this policy that they frequently had to have several satellite villages so they could separate young adult Christians from those still undergoing conversion[2] or as with the Trappists who gave the youngest children separate living quarters and a separate teacher so they would have "the least relation possible" with the older boys.[3] Even in the new European towns, where possible, the Christians were segregated in a separate village from other Africans.[4] A Scheutist Father on the Upper Congo pointed out to a

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[1]The evidence of this practice is overwhelming. Any description of their work will mention it. A good, but very brief published summary, is in de Meeus and Steenberghen, p. 82. More detail is in primary sources such as Van Wing, pp. 12-21; Emile Thibaut, Les Jésuites et les Fermes-Chapelles; apropos d'un débat récent (Bruxelles: Goemaere, 1911), p. 10; Roelens, Extract of Annual Report for 1904-05; Missions des PB, juin 1905, p. 170; Lavigerie quoted in Storme, Rapports, pp. 116-126; Scheutist Father DeCleene at Kangu, X/4/00, Father Ar. Renier to Van Ronslé from Umangi, undated, Father Cneut from Nouvelle-Anvers, XI/2/97, Cambier from Kanioka in the Kasai, III/5/95, Missions en Chine et au Congo, février 1901, p. 20; décembre 1906, pp. 283-284; mars 1898, p. 31 and septembre 1895, p. 122; Brother Stanislas to Abbot of Westmalle from Bamania, XI/15/96, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, mai 7, 1897, p. 174; Father Paul Hubin at Tumba, La Voix du Redempteur, mai 1909, pp. 184-186.

[2]Coulbois, Missions d'Alger, p. 454.

[3]Brother Charles to T.R.F. Abbé of Westmalle, undated from Bamania, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, août 22, 1896, p. 283.

[4]Father Jadoul, formerly curé in Boma, writing from Belgium, undated, Missions en Chine et au Congo, août 1900, pp. 490-492.

Catholic layman, "In Belgium one would not be able to image what precautions we must take to keep pagan corruption from our baptized children..."[1]

To fully understand this socio-political policy of Catholic missions it should be remembered that the basic means of transformation from paganism to Catholicism or civilization was the development of the Catholic family. Individual converts, united into Catholic families, would produce Catholic children. This second generation would be the beginning of a Catholic nation. "We missionaries are here to make the Congolese nation a Christian and civilized people. However, a people is composed of families...When the young Congolese boy and girl are civilized and Christian, we will unite them into a Christian family from which will come the Christian people."[2]

While the family was the basis for cultural transformation, the change itself had to take place in a new and controlled environment. This led to the large-scale withdrawal of children and adults into satellite villages under the direct rule of the missionary. Even if such Africans had contact with their own village, as with the Jesuit fermes-chapelles, they were removed from the authority of their chief. Only under this system of minute supervision and control of the lives of the Christian neophyte could proper habits and thoughts be cultivated and sustained and the New African Man created.

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[1]Father Ar. Renier to President of the Oeuvre de St. Amand from a catechumenat near Upoto, III/8/1906, ibid., septembre 1906, p. 212.

[2]Father Cambier from Luluabourg, X/20/99, ibid., août 1900, p. 486. Similar statements abound throughout missionary letters, statements and articles. See particularly Bethune, Les Missions Catholiques d'Afrique, p. 298.

In this new environment both the secular and religious life of the African would be carefully controlled and regulated as was described in the previous section. Perhaps the rationale of Catholic mission socio-political policy was well summed up by a Scheutist missionary when he wrote:

> As to the most important of their [Congolese children] faults, the lack of character, it is easy to remedy it. Keep the negro under good guardianship, keep him far from opportunity for evil and his conduct will be that — of the best brought up European child. But when one abandons him to himself, when one leaves him without guide and without master, he returns to his pagan turpitudes. It is the same with the negro adult. Isolated, he is a coward; under a good general, he is a soldier without parallel. Indeed, the principle is true everywhere, always. Also the discipline which reigns in our missions, the supervision which is exercised there, the isolation of the baptized are for us a sure guarantee for the future... Indeed, I cannot insist enough on this point---the negro is an ignorant child for whom a guide is necessary. Authority is necessary for him, the White is necessary for him, but the white who knows him, who loves him, who chastizes him when it is necessary... [1]

The main Protestant societies took an exactly opposite view from that of the Catholic missions with regard to changing environment and social customs. The almost unanimous opinion of Protestant missionaries was that the African should not be permanently removed from his own traditional surroundings.[2] The new African Christian should live within his own village and not in a separate Christian village. In this way he would build strength of character being confronted by temptation and could "take his stand" amongst his own

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[1] Scheutist Father Cneut, XI/2/1897, from Nouvelle-Anvers, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mars 1898, p. 31.

[2] G.C.R., 1909, pp. 76-80.

people. The exemplary lives of African Christians would have an inspirational effect upon their neighbors for the long-range goal was to use the African to convert his own people. "It is a fatal error to remove part of a people from their environment if you wish to elevate the people as a whole."[1] Some stations, such as Yakusu, reported that a number of Africans wanted to live on the station for protection, "but at this stage it would seem essential that these should take their stand amongst their own people..."[2]

> ...we have hesitated in the past to form a colony; that is to say, to withdraw our young married Christians who desired it from their heathen surroundings, and settle them permanently round us. We have been strongly tempted sometimes to do so, when we have been more than ordinarily aroused by the evils of the village life, and the many hindrances which bar the upward progress of young followers towards holiness. To create such a new society is, perhaps, more tempting because it seems a quick cut to the desired goal. I do not say that it proves to be a short cut, because while there is some escape from certain hindrances, other evils show their face. The fact is, that by so doing, we more quickly grow a black man such as the average white man wants to see, but the problem is not thereby solved how to grow a black man who shall be strong to help and save his brother black....We are trying, then, the difficult and slow task of superimposing a new state of society on the old corrupt form existing...it is not all corrupt...We have expected young men and girls to attain some degree of holiness, of purity, of honesty, of truthfulness, in the midst of surroundings which in the past have gone dead against it, and to do this, not in their own strength, but in the strength of their newly found Saviour... [3]

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[1]Editorial in B.M.M., August 1899, p. 435. See similar comments in Vinson, p. 43; Smith, Yakusu, p. xvi; Yakusu in Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1904, p. 104.

[2]Walter H. Stapleton at Yakusu in Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1902, p. 78.

[3]Smith, Yakusu, pp. 274-275.

But this view on leaving environment unchanged did not preclude the policy of temporarily removing the African during his conversion and training period, for example, by establishing central station boarding schools. Some individual BMS and ABMU stations (Wathen, Bolobo, Ikoko), the FCMS, the APCM and certain CBM stations (i.e. Bonginda) did take a few children, especially girls, to live on the station or to attend boarding schools. These were not orphans after the 1880's, as at the Catholic missions, but children sent by their parents from the local area. The idea was to control their environment and upbringing for a time and thereby achieve a more permanent character change.[1]

The advantages of boarding schools were at least threefold.[2] First, they provided a better environment, if only for a short period, and the opportunity for the African to observe examples of good character. It was an opportunity to form good habits and drop pernicious ones. Second, station boarding pupils because of the residential situation were more regular in their attendance than day pupils and therefore learned more quickly in a situation of constant and continuous schooling. Third, the education of boarders was not confined solely to school classes, but could include games, and other forms of character building as well as a disciplined life. Those who opposed boarding schools[3] did so mainly on the basis that

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[1]W.D. Armstrong on Bonginda, R.B., June 1907, pp. 159-160.

[2]The most comprehnsive discussion is in a paper by J. Clark of ABMU Ikoko station, "Boarding Schools,"and the discussion following in G.C.R., 1906, pp. 109-113. Supporters were Bentley, J.R.M. Stephens and G.R.R. Cameron of BMS Wathen, and J. Clark of ABMU Ikoko station.

[3]e.g. Charles H. Harvey and Henry Richards of ABMU Banza Manteke station and Thomas Lewis of the BMS.

the children became boastful and "puffed up" when they lived on the European station and were separated from their people[1] and they were shielded and protected from the difficulties they would have to face later in living in a village where they rejected traditional values.

Catholic evangelization required not only a complete change of environment for the African, but rejection of most of his traditional customs and mores. The crucial African custom to Christian mission action, especially Catholicism, was polygamy. The Catholics singled it out as the major problem in civilizing progress and conversion,[2] for establishment of the monogamous family unit was the basis of Catholic action in Africa as elsewhere. When Mgr. Van Ronslé wrote that "true civilization goes together with good organization of the family,"[3] he was not speaking just for the Scheutists but for all Catholic orders. There was no tolerance of polygamy and one of the first measures had been to bring in sisterhoods to prepare Christian girls. Catholic orders even prohibited marriage of their converts to non-Christian girls, a stipulation which caused great difficulty and many defections because of the lack of female converts. Their major

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[1]Harvey in Annual Report for 1905, B.M.M., May 1906, p. 345.

[2]Missionary letters continually discuss this problem. Extensive representative discussions of this problem are found in Roelens, "Rapport sur la Mission du Haut-Congo, juin 1902-juin 1903," Missions des PB, octobre 1903, pp. 290-293; Revue de l'ordre de Premontré et de ses missions, mars-avril 1906, p. 92; Vermeersch, La Question congolaise, pp. 234-247; Scheut Father Jules de Wilde, June 1891 from Berghe-Ste-Marie, Missions en Chine et au Congo, janvier 1892, p. 576.

[3]"Compte-rendu," XI/21/1901 from Leopoldville to founders and benefactors of Scheutist missions, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mars 1902, p. 52.

religious problem in the Congo became one of finding girls who were willing or allowed to remain on the station for religious training.[1]

Almost all the Protestant missions looked more tolerantly upon African customs, particularly polygamy, then did any of the Catholic orders. Polygamy was not the devil personified to the Protestants, largely because control of the family was not their basic method, but rather individual change of heart; a question of group versus individual methods. While they did not condone plural marriage, they realized it formed the basic social structure of native life and was therefore difficult to change immediately or simply by fiat. Indeed, many Protestant stations at first allowed the African to keep the number of wives he had when converted as long as he did not add more.[2] But after experience the majority came to feel that it was best to require monogamy at least from men, although there was no agreement on whether to receive wives of polygamists into the church.[3] Some

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[1]Such comments appear throughout Catholic missionary journals. For good summary statements, see, Minjauw, pp. 38-39; Fritz Masoin, Histoire de l'Etat indépendant du Congo (Namur: Picard-Balon, 1913), II, p. 315; Gabriel, p. 15.

[2]H. Richards at Banza Manteke, B.M.M., May 1890, p. 124; Henry Richards, The Pentacost on the Congo (New York: Livingston Middleditch, 1891), pp. 25-26.

[3]See papers on polygamy and ensuing discussions in G.C.R., 1906; E.E. Faris at Bolenge, undated, M.I., April 1903, p. 125; Dye, p. 200; Corey, p. 32; Smith, Fifty Years in Congo, p. 16; Arnot of GEM writing in 1907 quoted in Baker, p. 287; Kassai Herald, January 1907, p. 5. The CMA position was the least flexible. See, CMA, Annual Report for 1907, p. 137.

societies reported African men were then waiting until they could acquire several wives before converting.

The important political implication of Protestant decisions in these matters was that they were flexible, based upon experience and experiment and frequently differed from station to station even within one society.[1] African customs were seen as different not beastly, and many Protestant societies were aware of the implications of too rapid or forced social change. As one ABMU missionary cautioned his colleagues in 1909, "we should avoid the alteration of his customs which are not at variance with [Christian] morality."[2] Indeed, some Protestant stations, such as Wathen,[3] continued to allow the African to keep the number of wives he had when converted and to baptize him as long as he did not add more, although no Christian was allowed to take more than one wife. Most Protestant societies shared this type of tolerance of Africans customs realizing that "polygamy is not so easily uprooted, for the whole family and social structure is built upon it. We are wrong in looking upon polygamy as a system of unbridled sensuality," and unwise to attempt to change African customs wholesale.[4]

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[1]ABMU Annual Report for 1900, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 470.

[2]A. L. Bain at Banza Manteke, G.C.R., 1909, p. 22.

[3]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 385; Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 258.

[4]Lewis, These Seventy Years, pp. 276-277. See similar comments in Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals, pp. 137-139; Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 69; Dye, p. 200; Morrison quoted in Vinson, p. 43; Kassai Herald, January 1907, p. 5.

The Protestants concluded by the spread of Christianity, rather than by force, polygamy would slowly die out. "The approach to this and kindred subjects by our [BMS] early Congo missionaries was undoubtedly the right one. They were prepared to let their teaching manifest itself gradually in the lives of the individual members of the church..."[1]

Of the Catholic orders the WF were the most tolerant in terms of customs. While by no means condoning polygamy, they did not see it as the major social problem. It took second place to "the greatest obstacle, superstitions."[2] Like the majority of Protestant societies, the WF were willing to "leave to the Blacks their simple mores and all customs which are not contrary to Christian life."[3]

The New Elite

Before explaining in greater detail the nature and orientation of the new elite, it is well to remember (see Chapter II) that not all mission school districts undertook the preparation of an elite. It was principally Group I societies, because of their policy of depending upon Africans to spread Christianity, who specifically set out to train a separate or "elite" group of religious assistants who could minister to some of the spiritual and educational needs of their own people. Group II and III mission societies gave little thought to such activities, both because they used few African

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[1]Lewis, These Seventy Years, p. 277.

[2]Roelens, extract of "La Question sociale au Congo," Missions des PB, février 1900, p. 47.

[3]Missions des PB, mai 1900, p. 150.

assistants in their mission methods and because many thought the possibility of training Africans at a high level was fantasy without a slow advancement over three or four generations. It is in this desire to train an elite that the WF differ so radically from their Catholic colleagues. For a long time, not only the Jesuits, but all Catholic mission orders but the WF's remained against the formation of a native clergy. The Africans were considered basically as incapable of perfection without three or four generations of Catholicism working upon their characters. That is, there was nothing fixed and unchangeable about African character in the long run, but it would be a slow, evolutionary process. In considering the possibility and desirability of an elite, Group I Catholic missions with the exception of the WF's differed little from Groups II and III. The Jesuits were quite in accord with the Trappists who, when they came to the Congo had planned to train African Trappists, but who soon after their arrival decided "such a transformation is unthinkable of yet because the adult negroes are so profoundly corrupt and so immoral that it is impossible to have any idea of it,"[1] a view they did not alter over time.[2] Indeed, Roelen's pioneering work with secondary and higher religious education met with considerable resistance and skepticism from his colleagues as had his earlier efforts in introducing better training for teacher-catechists.

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[1]Brother Stanislas to Abbé of Westmalle, XI/15/96 from Bamania, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, May 7, 1897, p. 173.

[2]Writing in 1900 a Trappist estimated three to four generations would be necessary before they could begin thinking of an African clergy. See Brother T. to Abbé of Westmalle, undated, from Bamania, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, Sept. 28, 1900, p. 498 repeated in Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, novembre 1900, p. 250.

A comparison of WF and Jesuit policies here is illustrative. While the Jesuits were maintaining that the intellectual quality of their pupils mattered little for "they are not destined to become scientists and doctors,"[1] the WF's in the east were extolling the intellectual virtues of their best seminary student, Stefano Kaoze, who "gives us serious indications that he will become, thanks to God, the first black priest in the Upper Congo. This young man has really made astonishing progress in the study of philosophy..."[2] Indeed, the WF were the first to organize secondary and higher education in the Congo, although this education was aimed at preparing a clerical elite, not a general higher secular education. While the WF's shared the displeasure of other Catholic missionaries with the Europeanized African, they did not, as a consequence, reject all education. The WF's thought it quite possible to educate Africans without making European caricatures. Catholic missionaries in general claimed, as reported by Roelens, that if African priests were prepared "their long sojourn in the midst of European missionaries would deform them. Becoming used to the life, comfort, food and habits of the Whites, they would no longer be welcomed by the natives as being of them, and would no longer have their sympathy and confidence. These latter would consider African priests as Black Europeans."[3] But, Roelens concluded, "Experience proved the contrary." Indeed,

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[1]Pierpont, p. 77.

[2]WF J. Spée from Baudouinville, Missions des PB, juin 1907, p. 174.

[3]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 191.

Kaoze, for example, was considered an outstanding prospect for the priesthood as early as 1907, because "he remains simple and does not let himself become prideful."[1] Indeed, continual contact with European priests helped to broaden the African culturally, according to Roelens, who observed that, while they did well in their philosophy, Latin and theology studies, they lacked general all-round knowledge which students in "a civilized environment" picked up naturally through the course of their life.[2]

The question of developing an elite in Catholic schools was forceably resolved by the Vatican after World War I, when the Pope announced the purpose of missions in Africa was to plant the Chruch by forming a native clergy.[3] While the WF ordained their first African priest, Stefano Kaoze, in 1917 by 1922 there were only two African priests throughout the Congo. In 1915 the Scheutists, SHF and HGF provided Lower Seminaries,[4] but the first Scheutist Congolese priest was not ordained until 1934 and the first SHF Congolese priest not until 1938.[5]

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[1]Spée at Baudouinville, Missions des PB, juin 1907, p. 174.

[2]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 187.

[3]Encyclicals of Benedict XV, Maximum Illuo, XI/30/19, and Pius XI, Rerum Ecclesiae, II/28/26. These are found in English translation in Rev. Thomas J. M. Burke (ed.), Catholic Missions, Four Great Missionary Encyclicals (New York: Incidental Papers of the Institute of Mission Studies, No. 1, Fordham University Press, 1957).

[4]Edouard de Jonghe, "L'instruction publique au Congo belge," Congo, avril 1922, p. 525.

[5]See, Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 179. These orders sent their prospects to the WF Higher Seminary at Baudouinville.

Despite the limited provision for a new elite, there was a surprising convergence of missionary views on the orientation of this group. While there was sharp disagreement between the Catholic and Protestant views on the characteristics of the New African Man to be created and how this transformation was to be affected, their views did coincide on this one point---what he would not be. There was to be no literary-oriented, intellectual class. Because of what all mission societies considered unfortunate consequences or unexpected functions of education, particularly in Asia, and due to more palatable results obtained in the post-Reconstruction American South, the missionaries had a clear picture of the elite to be trained in the Congo. The great bug-a-boo to be avoided was the creation of a literary intellectual class, divorced from its natal environment with pretentions of socio-economic mobility, viewing their African countrymen as crude "bushmen" and unwilling to do manual labor. There was universal fear, due to the Indian experience, of the political repercussions of preparing "Europeanized" Africans. Such fears squelched the various schemes to send Congolese to Europe in the 1890's and would be partly responsible for an emphasis upon "adaptation" in educational policy both beginning in the CIS period and extending into the Belgian Congo era.

From a more positive viewpoint, the missionaries were convinced bringing knowledge and material benefits of a Europeanized way of life did not result in civilizing a people---only religion could to this. That is, to Christianize was to civilize, not the reverse. Therefore, the missionaries wanted to make Christians, not

Black Europeans,[1] to Christianize the African without westernizing him. The missionary wanted to use the philosophy developed in the American south where the goal was to improve the negro morally within his own separate environment. The missionary would change the moral character of the African, but not alter his socio-economic environment and in this way it was hoped to avoid the anti-religious results which education had brought in Asia.

> How far, we may ask, should the African be Americanized or Europeanized? Not at all. He is an African and should be encouraged to believe that the African race has its own special part to perform in the onward march of the human race, and that he will not best do his share by denationalizing himself, but by patriotically seeking to advance in harmony with his own temperment and surroundings...To civilize in order to Christianize, never works well.[2]

Rev. Henry Richards in a published conversation with Mrs. Grattan Guiness, Director of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union and sponsor of the CBM, wrote: "I greatly object to any attempt to Europeanize Africans. Africans they are, and Africans they must continue in all their habits and customs."[3] Even Bentley at Wathen, despite his careful organization of education and emphasis upon quality, did not differ in his conception of a Congolese elite. He wrote:

> ...we do not want to denationalize our native converts; indeed, so far as they denationalize, they lose their influence. A native who went into the villages to preach, dressed in coat and trousers, hat and boots, was no longer

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[1]WF Joseph Martin, "Le Pretre en Missions 1950," in L'Eglise au Congo et au Ruanda-Urundi (Bruxelles: Oeuvres Pontificales missionaires, 1950), p. 22.

[2]Rev. Charles H. Harvey at Palabala, B.M.M., May 1905, p. 186.

[3]B.M.M., April 1890, p. 103. See similar statement in Richards, 1891, p. 25 repeated in Richards, The Pentacost on the Congo, Rev. Ed. (Boston: ABMU, 1906), pp. 20-21.

> one of themselves; he had become a white man, so of course he talked as the white men did, and abandoned the native customs; but when he went to them as one of themselves, in dress and manner, they listened to what he had to say, and it had far greater power. Then again, a native in European clothes and boots began to fancy himself a white man, and to expect the consideration and treatment, and pay of a white man, without the white man's ability and worthiness. We want them to understand that it is not clothes that make the man, and to teach them to be, and not to pretend to be. A clean shirt and a neat loin-cloth is by a long way the simplest, coolest, and best style of dress for the native men; very much more decent and becoming than the imitations of white men's dress which they often make...We have to Christianize, not to Anglicize.[1]

It was to counter this "danger of the boys becoming unfit for native life and trying to lord it over their uneducated townfolk"[2] that the school boys were required to work in the fields and at other manual tasks. Even when they accompanied Bentley in travel they were asked to serve as his carriers for "every one has to help, Chief and slave alike, according to size and strength."[3] What Bentley wanted upon their return to their village was "real superiority that will make them build better houses, [and] work deligently to earn better clothes."[4]

As for the clergy---the elite group---Bentley spoke at least for most Protestant missionaries when he wrote in 1902: "We have no idea of a native ministry in black coats and outward semblances, but we want men who understand the Scriptures and can expound them; men in

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[1]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, pp. 187-188. This statement was a redrafting of a letter Bentley sent Baynes, IV/24/1888, from Wathen which appeared in the M.H., August 1888, pp. 307-308.

[2]Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 270.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 271.

whose hearts the gracious Spirit has worked, and is working; men who will lead their people to Christ and feed His flock."[1] Indeed, the ABMU and BMS conceptions of an elite are obviously illustrated by the nature and purpose of their United Training school at Kimpese. The management wanted to "avoid anything in the shape of an imitation 'whiteman.' Thus the life, housing, clothing, and feeding will be in accord with native ideas, only insisting on cleanliness, decency, and industry."[2]

Not only should they not ape European ways, but the missionaries needed to protect the African against "swelled head" particularly in relation to other Africans. "We need, however, carefully to avoid, as far as possible, anything that would encourage the teachers to think themselves removed into another sphere from their fellows, by reason of the little extra knowledge they may receive at the Institution, or by an 'advanced' position to which they may be appointed."[3]

The WF, too, were aware of these socio-political "dangers" of education. However, the cardinal sin of pride could be avoided, not by dispensing with elite education entirely as the Jesuits did, but by proper education. Lavigerie, their founder, had said there were two ways to make Christians---they could be made to resemble Europeans or left as Africans in their own material environment.

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[1] Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1902, p. 65.

[2] Thomas Lewis, M.H., January 1908, p. 20. See similar statement by Walter Wooding of BMS in paper on Kimpese, G.C.R., 1907, p. 176.

[3] Paper on Kimpese by Rev. G. Thomas of BMS, G.C.R., 1909, p. 91.

The former means, however, achieved by teaching the African the "arts and trades of Europe," was deceptive. "It is to believe that when they are housed, dressed, and fed as us, they have changed their nature. However, they will have changed only their habits."[1] The better way was to leave their socio-economic environment unchanged and "first to change their hearts by gaining their souls." Material changes would then follow. That is, one first Christianized and then material civilization could follow.

The WF did this latter system, even for their seminarists, by "maintaining the seminarists in the habits of the country, but at a level of the best native families."[2] The organization and regulations of their Higher Seminary were the same as in Europe[3] but "adapted to the environment and mentality of our young Blacks..."[4] They felt it necessary to protect their African priests "for although well-trained [they] remain subject to certain deficiencies of their race."[5] In order to counter the tendency toward pride or aping European manners children under WF tutelage were not taught to use European food, plates or "other appendages of civilization."[6] In

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[1]Storme, Rapports, p. 127.

[2]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, pp. 179-180.

[3]The Catholics claimed that since the Council of Trent the training of priests had been uniform in organization and standards in all countries. See de Vos, "Formation des Missionnaires prêtres," Oeuvres Catholiques au Congo, p. 3.

[4]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, pp. 179-180.

[5]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, p. 185.

[6]Guillemé to Mgr. Livinhac, Superior General of WF, from Baudouinville, I/9/98, Missions d' Afrique des PB, août 1898, p. 237.

describing the goals of the first White Sisters to arrive in the Eastern Congo, a WF missionary summed up the general mission goals as:

> As with the boys, the education of these young girls is done by the training of head and heart as well as hands; not in the European pattern which would create in them new needs and useless servitudes, but in an entirely local manner keeping the modest habits of the native life with regard to dress, food and lodging. Civilization is not shown to them in a glass of frothy wine or a beautiful gown nor in unknown or refined food...Thus, they will remain truly African in all that concerns material life.[1]

The Jesuits are again a curious exception in Group I mission policy. They agreed as to the need for religion and work and the necessity to maintain the simplicity of the native environment, but they saw no need to add an educated religious elite to the virtues of faith and regular labor.

> All sensible men understand our work. Indeed, what do we want? Simply to instruct and raise the blacks, in making of them men and Christians. One says: You will make of them non-governables and the first to revolt against the State, and the most redoubtable by their savoir faire acquired with you. The more the blacks are instructed, the more it is difficult for us to lead them. It is better for the whites that the blacks remain stupid.
>
> There would be much to reply and I can write a volume. Two words apply in passing. If all the blacks underwent the training that we give our children before long they would cease to be any fugitives, nomads of the brush and forest or incorrigible laggards. They would learn obedience to the legitimate powers. If the Church had left us, we would still be today the populations hard and cruel of the old forests of Gaul.[2]

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[1]WF Maturin Guillemé, Missions d' Afrique des PB, septembre 1896, pp. 405-406.

[2]Diary of Father Cus, V/30/1902, Missions belges, décembre 1902, p. 436. See similar statements by Superior J. Banckaert to editor, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques, March 1909, pp. 20-21; Missions belges: Van Hencxthoven, janvier 1899, p. 6; Sister Theophanie de la Passion at Kisantu to Rev. Mother General at Namur, XI/10/1903 from Kisantu, janvier 1904, p. 38; and avril 1904, p. 148.

Sending Congolese Abroad

This concept of a religious elite whose social and economic environment remained constant, while their value system changed was reflected in mission policies toward sending Congolese abroad and by language policy.

Several hundred Congolese went abroad to Europe or the U.S. during the CIS period, but few were sent solely for educational purposes. Three programs for training Congolese abroad did operate for a time in the 1880's and 1890's but all were abandoned by the turn of the century. Their importance is not in the numbers they handled, never more than several dozen at the most, but in the fact that all three, after short trial, were abandoned. A policy of educating Congolese in the Congo, long advocated by the missionaries and government alike, was then enforced.[1]

The first scheme, run by the WF for the benefit of all their African missions not just that in the eastern Congo, involved a secondary school, the Institut des Jeunes Noirs, established on Malta in 1881, to train catechiste-médecins, African "medical" missionaries. Students from the Congo were sent in the 1880's,[2] but after the early 1890's little more is heard of this project.

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[1]In November 1899 the central government of the CIS asked that all Congolese studying in Belgium be sent back to the Congo. Roeykens, "L'oeuvre de l' éducation des jeunes Congolais en Belgique, Une page de l'histoire de la politique scolaire de l' Etat indépendant du Congo, 1888-1889," Nouvelle revue de Science missionnaire, XII, no. 3, [1956], p. 189.

[2]André Faraghi, Léon Oussembé, Joseph Gatchi, André Mwangé and Charles Faraghit. See Missions d'Alger, juillet 1889, pp. 616-620; mars 1890, p. 716; juillet-août 1890, p. 795; mai 1891, p. 125.

The second scheme, the Congo Training Institution (CTI), involved preparing African "industrial" missionaries and schoolmasters and was conducted by a former BMS missionary to the Congo, William Hughes, at Colwyn Bay, Wales.[1] Begun in 1888 with two youth Hughes brought back with him from the Congo, the participation of Congolese, at first the majority, decreased during the 1890's to almost none after the turn of the century. The third project was undertaken at the initiative of an energetic Catholic school principal, Abbot Van Impe of the Institut St.-Louis de Gonzague at Gyseghem-lez-Alost in East Flanders.[2] The Congolese children who were sent became regular pupils in the primary section of the school. The project, first organized in 1888, was phased out by 1899.

These experiments never received much support from missionaries in the Congo. Greater cost and difficulties in finding suitable children to send were used as excuses by missionaries for lack of cooperation, but the real reasons against sending Congolese abroad were political. For example, Roelens had initially been enthusiastic about sending prospective catechists to Malta in that when they returned "they feel, think and speak as we do" yet were from the

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[1]The best accounts of this scheme are in William Hughes, Dark Africa and the Way Out. A Scheme for Civilizing and Evangelizing the Dark Continent (London: Low, 1892); William Hughes (ed.), Industrial, Self-Supporting Missionaries. A Practical Scheme inaugurated by the Congo Training Institute. 2nd ed. rev. and enlarged (n.p., 1892); and in the several annual reports of the Institute, especially Hughes (ed.), Annual Report for 1894-1895 (Colwyn Bay, Wales: Jones and Bros, 1895).

[2]The most detailed reports on Van Impe's project are Pascal Dubois, L'Education des jeunes Congolais en Belgique. Origines, fondation, marche et progrès de cette oeuvre (Liège: Dessain, 1893); and MAE/AA, M137-590. Much of the latter archival materials have been published in text without much comment in Roeykens, Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire, XII, nos. 2 and 3, 1956, pp. 92-107; 175-189.

people and therefore would be more effective.[1] But by 1900 the WF had decided "we must leave the African in his own environment and moralize him there..."[2] This policy shift stemmed from the view, after experience, that taking the African out of his own environment spoiled him and led him from spiritual to material preoccupations.

Almost all missionaries both Protestant and Catholic shared this view that there were certain disagreeable new character traits observable in returnees. While some returnees seem to have made a satisfactory readjustment to the Congo and secured skilled work, many became discipline and attitude problems in the view of the missionaries. They claimed returning Africans became proud, overambitious, conceited and difficult to handle, indeed, unmanageable. They became too proud to work. "The majority of Blacks who have been in Belgium came back swelled with vanity and pride..."[3] In addition the returnees, it was reported, were no longer able or willing to deal with regular "bush" Africans, a task it had been said was one of the main reasons for sending them abroad in the first place. The general concern was well expressed by the veteran ABMU missionary, Henry Richards. "I protest against their coming to England or America, as they would see a corrupt form of Christianity, and they become proud and ambitious and give us no end of trouble when they return.[4]

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[1]Roelens at St. Louis to Mgr. Livinhac, XI/25/1892, Missions d'Alger, novembre 1893, p. 225.

[2]Editorial, Missions des PB, mai 1900, p. 150.

[3]Diary of Redemptorist Isodore Goedleven at Matadi, entry of VII/1/1901, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, novembre 1901, p. 265.

[4]Richards, The Pentacost on the Congo, 1891, p. 25; repeated in 1906 edition, pp. 20-21.

Richards spoke[1] of a boy he "had trouble with" who had been in England. "He was cross and sulky, and wanted toilet soap, if you please, and better food; and I caught him domineering over other boys, and even beating them, and making them cry."[2]

Yet it was the ABMU which was the main supplier of Congolese pupils to the CTI. While most came from Ikoko station, Richards remarks are enlightening here as well. While he was against Africans going abroad "as a rule" because "it generally spoils them and makes them very troublesome," there might be "cases of an exceptional character" where "high-class native teachers and preachers" might be needed "to be heads of native colleges" so in this case he favored the preparation of "a few such lads who can stand it without getting spoiled."[3] Indeed, the ABMU missionaries who had supported the CTI plan did so only on the basis that there were as yet no suitable advanced schools in the Congo. "Whatever may be said about the desirability of such a training home as yours [Hughes] out here instead of in Europe," an ABMU missionary wrote Hughes, "the fact remains that there is none out here as yet..."[4] While the ABMU in the Lower

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[1] B.M.M., May 1890, p. 126.

[2] See similar complaints in R.B., April 1896, p. 209. Richards told him, "If I see any more such conduct I take off your clothes and send you away back to the town to be a slave again."

[3] B.M.M., May 1890, p. 126.

[4] Hughes (ed.), Self-Supporting Industrial Missionaries, p. 22. Since ABMU missionaries were independent of one another, it was possible for some to refuse and others to send several of their pupils abroad.

Congo established a training school in 1891 and therefore had no further justification in sending Congolese abroad, the Upper Congo Ikoko station missionaries had no such opportunity. However, there is no question as to general ABMU policy. Experience in Asia had indicated by the 1880's that education abroad, or indeed European-type secondary education in general, made pupils not only politically unmanageable but anti-religious. In an article on "Discarded Missionary Methods" it was pointed out that the sending of natives to America for education "used to be considered a masterly stroke" for there the student would benefit from the stimulus of "the finest young students... become possessed of higher ideals...while his mind would be more richly stored with the materials of thought."[1]

> Besides, it was thought they would more than pay their way by the interest they would excite as they were taken round from church to church, and from Sunday school to Sunday school. And so they were taken through a collegiate course, and then sent back, petted and caressed, and laden with many and various small presents and souvenirs of their stay in America.
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> When they were once more back on the field, the results would appear. In a few instances they did well; but in others, and I think in the majority of cases, there was a disappointment even to the extent of bitterness. The young man had, indeed, become a broader man; but he had become so broad that he could not sit on the old-fashioned stool. He had to have a special chair made for him. He had been highly educated; but somehow he had been educated so highly that his old comrades could not always reach him, and he could not always get down to them. He could not work himself into the place he had been expected to take. The trouble was he was always trying to locate himself. He had not become an American, and yet he had partly ceased to be a native... His tastes being more expensive, he must have more support than his native co-laborers; or failing in that, he would have to go into government service, or engage in secular

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[1]Rev. Dr. William Ashmore, "Discarded Missionary Methods," B.M.M., December 1887, p. 455.

> business. In fact, he was spoiled. He was neither one thing nor the other.
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> Nor did he always have the increased influence that was expected. In some cases his co-laborers viewed him with a kind of reserve, as one who was inclined, as they thought, to take airs upon himself because he had been abroad, and which sometimes was sadly true. Especially would his old comrades complain of his getting a larger allowance for his services than was given to them.[1]

Thus by the 1880's the Union was convinced Africans and Asians should be educated in their own country. "There the man is educated among as well as for his own people. He is never separated from them. And, besides that, he gets an education somewhat different from what he would get at home; but he gets one, it must be claimed, which better fits him for the work he has to do over there."[2] This view was firmly endorsed by Catholic missionaries. "It is always necessary to be very careful to avoid transforming young negroes into little European-like savants, such as has been attempted in Belgium. This is to risk very strongly making them déclassés."[3] As one pro-Catholic Belgian historian summed up: "The project [Van Impe's] was quite successful in Belgium, but upon returning to the Congo they found that such students had nothing but contempt for their savage brothers and that they were far from offering the assistance upon which the Belgians had counted."[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 455-456.

[2] Ibid., p. 456.

[3] Pierre Verhaegen, "Quelques mots sur la civilisation des nègres dans le Bas-Congo," Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juin 1899, p. 57.

[4] Masoin, II, p. 325.

Aside from these three institutionalized programs, the main reason for sending Congolese abroad was primarily public relations and secondarily language study.[1] The most widespread purpose for taking individual Congolese children to Europe and America was to "show" them as specimens of the work being done in the Congo. In this way interest and thereby monetary contributions would be increased.[2] Hughes reports of Congolese "brought over [to England] for the purpose of having them exhibited and nothing more---taken from house to house, and chapel to chapel for nine or twelve months time, some of the ladies and others on account of their missionary enthusiasm almost adoring them and causing the poor little creatures, without any education or ballast, to think that life was but something of that kind all through."[3] In a reciprocal fashion Congolese would "bear witness" to the efforts being made by European groups on their behalf and thus they would more fully understand and be sympathetic to the nature and purpose of the missionaries work. It was obviously the purpose that these Congolese visitors would bring such knowledge back to their own people in the form of accounts of what they had heard and seen.[4] Indeed, even the Van Impe project in Belgium was more publicity than education-minded. To general middle class audiences Van Impe

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[1]A number were taken back to Europe or the United States as personal servants.

[2]Laveille, pp. 165, 171.

[3]Hughes (ed.), Self-Supporting Industrial Missionaries, p. 9.

[4]BMS Annual Report for 1884, M.H., May 1885, p. 194; Missions belges, mars 1900, p. 80; Gaspar, p. 55, note 1.

claimed bringing Congolese children to Belgium would improve business;[1] to the nobility he held up the Project as a fashionable charity, and to the great mass of solidly-Catholic peasantry the pagentry of baptisms served to provide a "veritable holiday."[2] For example, one of the publicity purposes of Van Impe's Project was to take children from place to place. They became curiosities which drew huge crowds even of the most respectable citizens wherever they appeared in public. When the first pupil arrived at Gyseghem, all the inhabitants of the town crowded at the railway station to see and touch him.[3] At his baptism, held at Liege, the crowd pressed in "wanting to see and touch the new Christian" to the point that his sponsor, a magistrate, had "to sneak him out a back door."[4] Baptisms of Congolese pupils, as well as lecture meetings at which they appeared, drew huge crowds. Members of the nobility were involved as godparents and "attendance at these functions was like the guest list of a Palace ball."[5] Serving on the Project became a fashionable charity for titled and wealthy ladies.

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[1]See text of pamphlet published by the Committee of the Project quoted in Dubois, p. 93.

[2]Ibid., p. 19, 43, 45-46, 53.

[3]Ibid., p. 27.

[4]Ibid., p. 19.

[5]Ibid., p. 67 and passim.

The CTI had been envisioned specifically to counteract the deleterious effects of such publicity schemes. Hughes "would not let them go about to other towns to speak at meetings, and be petted and spoiled in luxurious drawing-rooms." If he had he felt "there would no doubt be more money forthcoming, but they would grow proud and conceited, and lose their love of hard work and their singleness of purpose."[1] Instead, Hughes served very simple food, which students themselves grew in a garden.[2] His pupils "were neither petted as interesting converts nor paraded for the purposes of filling collection boxes."[3]

As for language study, it was a widespread practice for individual missionaries to take one or two Congolese with them to Europe or America when they went on leave. These young people would then assist the experienced missionary or young missionaries in training with language study and in the case of Protestants with Bible and religious translations. Missionaries typically spent anywhere from six months to two years on furlough, particularly if they had been ill or if they were good speakers and fund raisers. Thus, in some instances these young Congolese who accompanied Protestant missionaries might be enrolled in some specialized school.[4]

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[1]Hughes, Dark Africa, p. 138.

[2]Hughes (ed.), Self-Supporting Industrial Missionaries, p. 32.

[3]Ibid., p. 48.

[4]For example, in the 1890's there were about a half dozen Congolese at Wayland Seminary in the state of Washington, not studying for the ministry, but improving their Bible knowledge.

Language Policy

In addition to Congolese serving as language teachers and assistants, the language of instruction in Congolese schools was a particularly important element of educational policy. Language policy in the schools reinforced mission views on social policy, particularly with regard to the unanimity of opinion on the nature and orientation of the elite, if any, to be developed.

There were three basic language choices the missions could make in terms of a medium of instruction and for translation of written materials; the maternal language of the pupils, an African regional lingua franca or a European language. There could also, of course, be a combination of one or several of these.

The Catholic missions uniformly used a regional language or lingua franca, understood more or less over a wide geographical area by large numbers of people, while the Protestant school districts preferred maternal languages, hoping to pick ones spoken by the largest number of people near each central station.

There were several reasons for this basic difference in a choice of African language by the Protestant and Catholic districts. First of all, the recruitment policy of the Catholic school districts virtually forced them to the use of a lingua franca. Since their major method of recruitment centered mainly on obtaining liberées, that is, freed or ransomed slaves and orphans, this meant that the several hundred to several thousand Africans under their immediate care at each station spoke a polyglot of mother idioms. If they were to continue this recruitment policy, they were forced arbitrarily to adopt one native language and use it both in schools and in the

preparation of written materials. Second, the Catholic educational methods were more geared to approaching a mass audience rather than selective and intensive training of a more limited number of chosen people. This, too, forced them in a country where language could change every forty or fifty miles and where one mission order might cover a geographic area the size of Texas,[1] to adopt only one language. Otherwise the linguistic burden upon their staff would be too great.

Use of regional languages was dropped by Protestant missionaries for a variety of reasons. First, the people frequently did not speak them fluently enough. Missionaries at Yakusu reported that Swahili was not clearly understood by all.[2] The pioneer missionary at Upoto, Frederick Oram, pointed out: "When it is known that only a few people can take more than a smattering of Kibangi [Bobangi], and even the smartest could only converse on the most general subjects, it will be easily understood that Kibangi would not be sufficient for missionary work. We must learn the actual language of the people---Bopoto."[3]

Secondly, they tended to be Bula Matadi[4] languages, jargons that grew up and were as foreign to the Congolese as to the Europeans.[5] Indeed, the Swahili spoken in the eastern Congo was a different

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[1]For example, the Upper Congo Scheutist's territory was this large and in 1908 was served by less than 70 missionaries including nuns.

[2]Millman in M.H., March 1909, p. 79.

[3]Oram to Baynes, undated, M.H., August 1891, p. 319.

[4]Bula Matadi actually meant rock-breaker in Kikongo. It was the name given Stanley by the Congolese when he began his road building. Later it became the local word indicating the colonial government.

[5]Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, pp. 13-14.

dialect, Kingwana, than that spoken on the coast,[1] while a sort of "Kru-boy English," an uninflected mixture of English and French, was used in the Lower Congo,[2] in addition to fiote, "a sort of Congolese Esperanto"[3] or pidgin Kikongo.[4] While Kikongo, Bobangi and Tshiluba were mother tongues of some as well as widely used regional languages, Lingala was the mother tongue of none. On the upper river Lingala was a lingua franca, a mixture of other languages.[5]

> On the main river there was a mixed language commonly called among us the 'trade language'; by means of this lingua franca we were able to make ourselves understood at the various places at which we touched on our search for a new site, and it stood us in good stead during our early days among the Monsembe people. There was a large element of Bobangi in it, some Kiswahili words, and a few Lower Congo words and phrases. This 'trade language' has now been supplanted by what is called the 'Bangala language' which is a mixture of the languages already mentioned, with a smattering of Bangala words thrown in. ...the white men hearing the natives of the neighbourhood talking this lingo jumped to the conclusion that it was their own tongue ... and thus called it the Bangala language, and by that name it is now generally known on the Upper Congo.
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> As it was with the 'trade language' so it is with the 'Bangala'; it varies considerably with the tribe using it. A Bobangi man when in difficulty for a word or phrase while speaking 'Bangala' will fill up the hiatus with a word from his mother-tongue; the Bangalas, Bopoto, and Bosoko peoples will fill up the gaps, each from their own language, so that the 'Bangala' spoken differs according to the district in which the traveller may be sojourning.[6]

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[1]Smith, Yakusu, pp. 159-160.

[2]Ethel Taylor Wharton, Led in Triumph: Sixty Years of Southern Presbyterian Missions in the Belgian Congo (Nashville: Board of World Missions, Presbyterian Church of the United States, 1952), p. 17.

[3]Sadin, p. 15.

[4]Denis, pp. 28-29.

[5]"Report of the Language Conference held at Mukimbungu, June 1903," G.C.R., 1904, p. 53.

[6]Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals, pp. 48-49.

Thirdly, Swahili was associated with the Arab slavers and with Islam and opposed on this basis by BMS missionaries in the eastern Congo and the GEM in the Katanga.[1] For example, Dan Crawford of the GEM had also at first supported the use of Swahili in that it was both an African language, used over a wide area and already had a Christian literature of high standard.[2] As late as 1897, new missionaries at Luanza were still learning Swahili, although some also learned the local languages, Sanga-Tshiluba or Umbundu.[3] However, increasingly after 1897 Swahili was dropped because of its Arab and Islamic associations and by the turn of the century Sanga-Tshiluba was the sole language of instruction and translation.

Fourth, use of the mother tongue enhanced public relations between the missionaries and the local people and thereby promoted religious goals. Smith at Yakusu maintained the mother tongue was absolutely necessary for missionaries to use in facilitating the first contacts and the establishment of confidence of the Africans, prerequisites to any evangelical or educational work. "At the outlying villages the people were amazed to find that they need not revert to Kingwana [Swahili] in speaking to us and that there were actually white men who could converse with them, and who preferred to do so in the tongue in which they were born. The whole tribe

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[1]Millman in M.H., March 1909, p. 79; E.S., March 1897, p. 77.

[2]Crawford, E.S., March 1897, p. 77.

[3]E.S.: Benjamin Cobbe at Luanza, XI/26/95, May 1896, p. 136; H.J. Pomeroy at Luanza, XI/4/96, March 1897, p. 91; Grace Crawford at Luanza, II/2/97, July 1897, p. 235; William George at Luanza, August 1897, p. 251; W.E. Gammon at Luanza, XI/3/97, May 1898, p. 142.

opened its arms and accepted us, and they have never gone back on that welcome."[1]

While these were certainly legitimate reasons for opting against regional languages, it is quite evident that the choice of the latter would have been more integrative in promoting political cohesion in colonial administration and indeed religiously in relating church converts in several neighboring regions with each other. The use of a regional language as a force for unity was particularly important considering the decisions made with regard to a European language.

Indeed, the greatest difference in language policy between mission districts concerned the use of a European language. The main Protestant societies encouraged its use; the Catholics all opposed it. This did not mean that French or English became a required subject or the language of instruction in BMS, SMS or ABMU missions, but that learning a European language was in general encouraged and instruction offered to those who wanted it.[2]

The BMS and ABMU especially and in particular Grenfell at Bolobo, Bentley at Wathen, and Stapleton and Sutton Smith at Yakusu favored use of a European language together with the local mother tongue. Grenfell was convinced that real education should be based upon a European language which would open a whole new world of literature and ideas. He appears to have been more aware than many of his colleagues

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[1]Smith, Yakusu, pp. 159-160. It should be pointed out here that the Catholic mission in this area, the SHF, state officials and Arab traders, all used Swahili exclusively.

[2]Smith, Yakusu, pp. 83, 276; Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, pp. 271, 344.

of the importance of the social implications of education, rather than viewing language policy primarily in terms of pedagogical or evangelistic aims. In response to an American scholar's inquiry regarding policy Grenfell wrote in 1895:

> ...the missionaries, by teaching them a civilized language and bringing them into contact with the literature and civilization of the world, have placed them in a position of great advantage as compared with those among whom mission work has been carried on exclusively in the language of the country. From a distinctly religious point of view, it may be debateable as to whether it is advantageous or not to teach a new language, but from a social point of view the gain is very distinct. If work is done through the medium of the native tongue, it is long before even the rudiments of literature can be translated or rendered available. On the other hand, every intelligent scholar is able to help himself...when he has once mastered English, or any one of the European languages and possibly, the sociological impulse is even greater from contact with the world through the medium of its periodical press than it is from contact with the treasures of its literature.[1]

In addition Grenfell pointed out the social disadvantages of educating solely in the vernacular.

> Where the native tongue is alone the vehicle for instruction and communication, the maintenance of the old trading monopolies of the head men, of the wide-embracing institution of slavery, and the despotic cruelty of the chiefs, is secured for a much longer period than is possible where the people are enlightened through the medium of a civilized language, and thereby enabled to realize that they constitute part of the civilized world.[2]

Indeed instruction was offered in three foreign languages---French, English, and Latin---by mission schools in the Congo. The BMS was the leading instructor of the State's official language, French,

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[1]Grenfell to Denis, III/28/95, from Bolobo quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, pp. 389-390.

[2]Grenfell to Denis, III/28/95, from Bolobo quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, pp. 389-390.

although ABMU and FCMS mission schools also offered such opportunities from an early period. Besides these three societies there is no evidence that other Protestant missions were teaching French, some such as the SMS because they thought "foreign languages are of no use or value, but would only furnish a temptation to enter the service of the State"[1] or because these English-speaking societies had no staff able to speak French, let alone teach it.[2] Some American and British Baptist stations did teach English at the beginning mainly because they wished to teach a world language and found their own maternal tongue easier than French. But because of CIS government objections, most such instruction was curtailed by the early 1890's. Latin instruction began at the WF catechist school at Mpala in 1893, but French was not introduced in Catholic mission schools (Redemptorists, Jesuit, SHF, HGF) until 1905, and then "out of fear that Protestant-trained people would get the best jobs, those requiring some knowledge of French,"[3] and "in order to lead them [Congolese children] more easily to school."[4] Even then such European language offerings were a temporary matter to be dropped when there was no Protestant competition.[5]

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[1]Rev. K.E. Laman at Mukimbungu, G.C.R., 1904, p. 29.

[2]For example, of the first eight FCMS missionaries, only one could speak French. See, FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 410. When the King's Inquiry Commission came in 1904 to investigate the alleged atrocities associated with the Anti-Congolese Campaign with only three exceptions Protestant missionaries were unable to read or communicate in French. See, The Congo, A Report of the Commission of Enquiry Appointed by the Congo Free State Government. A Complete and Accurate Translation (London, New York: Putnam's 1906), pp. 8-9.

[3]Laveille, p. 228, note 3.

[4]Father Struyf, undated, Missions belges, août 1906, pp. 300-301.

[5]Le Manuel des Instructions missionaires (Leopoldville: Conference of Catholic Mission Superiors, 1930), especially pp. 32-34.

Indeed, the majority of Protestant societies, particularly the American and British Baptists, would have preferred a language policy involving a combination of the maternal African language together with a European language, but since few Protestant missionaries spoke French and since the government was suspicious of the use of English, the Protestant missions did not press instruction of a European language.

The Catholic missions uniformly were against the use of a modern European language, unless forced to offer one to compete for converts. Aware that Congolese frequently chose their religious and educational affiliations upon the basis of which mission appeared to offer the greatest economic advantages, the Catholics were fearful lest the Protestants attract more adherents because these latter got the better jobs due to the nature of their training in Protestant schools. Even the WF found it preferable to go directly from Swahili to Latin, there being no need for French as an intermediary, particularly as it would make available a vast range of non-religious ideas.

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Of crucial importance in understanding the development of education in relation to mission policies is the outlook and efforts of the missions in supplying trained Congolese for wage employment in the rapidly growing colonial administration and trading firms. By the 1890's State agents, European traders, and railway officials were eager to employ Africans trained at the missions.

However, Christian missions had little interest in training artisans for employment in the modern sector of the economy or the colonial administration. Largely only the BMS encouraged such employment, the majority of Protestant missions tolerated it, while all Catholic missions were actively hostile to their converts and adherents leaving mission control for commercial employment and urban residence.

Replies to a circular letter issued by the colonial government to all missions furnish a good opportunity to compare attitudes toward wage employment. In 1898 the government invited all missions, Protestant and Catholic, to cooperate with the State in a program of vocational education.[1] While the State's scheme was vague in detail, the general idea was to offer apprenticeship training, as mechanics, telegraph linesmen, monteurs, ajusteurs, warehousemen and clerks, to mission pupils. Only five societies replied. The SMS,[2] CBM,[3] and ABMU[4] sent polite thank you notes saying they would take the matter under

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[1]Circular letter to "MM. les membres des associations philantropiques et religieuses," IX/30/98, M/AA, M4-561. Only a copy of the draft dated September 11, 1898 is in the archives, but replies and further correspondence indicate the circular letter was dated September 30, 1898. The Governor General's circular letter was a result of instructions from the central CIS government in Brussels. See, Secretary of State Edmund Van Eetvelde to Governor General, VII/25/98, M/AA, M4-561.

[2]A. Thomas Skandman to Governor-General, X/13/98, from Matadi, M/AA, M4-561.

[3]Rev. Walter Wooding to Governor-General, X/24/98, from Bomba, M/AA, M4-561.

[4]Rev. Charles H. Harvey from Matadi, to Governor-General, X/31/98, M/AA, M4-561.

consideration. The Jesuit[1] and BMS[2] replies, however, were more detailed and offer an interesting comparison of mission views.[3] The BMS missionary at Wathen, Rev. George Cameron, thanked the Governor-General for the opportunity and said he had told his pupils and a number of them were very interested. He then asked for further details of where, when and for how long the apprentice program would take place. This was not an atypical response. BMS missionaries since the late 1880's had been encouraging their adherents to enter skilled wage employment.[4] An experienced colonial administrator observed that the BMS took what he described as "the collateral view of mission work," that is, a belief that along with the faith it was their responsibility to see to "the introduction of a sound, material civilization."[5] The Jesuit Director of the State School Colony at Kimwenza, Father Edouard Liagre, received the offer coolly on the basis it appeared from the circular letter that the apprenticeships would be done "in schools established and directed by the State," a situation, Liagre believed, "the chiefs of [Catholic] missions would feel a certain repugnance in letting their children attend." He then continued to outline succinctly Catholic objections to such cooperation. First of all, there was the moral and social question.

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[1]Father Edouard Liagre to Governor-General, undated, from Kimwenza, M/AA, M4-561.

[2]Rev. George Cameron to Governor-General from Wathen, XI/7/98, M/AA, M4-561.

[3]While these two replies represent only the personal views of the individual missionary replying, they are representative of their society's views.

[4]See, for example, Lawson Forfeitt to Baynes, III/25/90 or Bentley to Sir Charles Wathen, VI/28/90, M.H., July 1890, p. 258 and October 1890, pp. 381-382.

[5]Johnston, I, p. 12.

> I don't doubt that the government authorities will do all they can so that the children in these establishments would be sheltered from all moral danger. But would this always be true of the immediate chiefs with whom the young people would be continually in contact? Moreover, outside of the workshop, would the authorities, despite their good intentions, be able to closely enough supervise these children whose conversion is recent and who for this reason have need of being supervised? You are not unaware that many of the blacks in the more populated centers, where undoubtedly these young people would have to do their apprenticeship, do not constitute very recommendable associates.

Secondly, there was the need of using most of the pupils for Catholic mission needs.

> It is necessary to find in those pupils who are actually at the colony, catechists for the secondary missions founded or to be founded, apprentices in masonry, carpentry and blacksmithing for the mission itself, others to help clear land and cultivate the fields necessary to relieve the budget of the colony. Out of these pupils it is still necessary to subtract children too young, too feeble or those working specifically on school work.

Liagre concluded: "From the above, you understand, Mr. Governor-General, that here for the moment at least, there are no children who would be able to be sent to a trade school."

Perhaps the most significant factor here is the Catholic mission emphasis on minute control of the African in contrast to the Protestant encouragement of independence. This is clearly seen in previous statements of the Jesuit Superior, Van Hencxthoven. To the many requests from firms in the Lower Congo for pupils from Kisantu, Van Hencxthoven "was far from encouraging the Christians to choose such employment" for fear of "exposing their virtue for a few material advantages." At the beginning of 1897 he wrote to his Provincial in Belgium: "One cannot hope to do something here unless it is distant from the whites. These latter in general cannot flatter themselves

by being called civilizers. The majority are corruptors. Thus, we cannot too much dissuade our young people from entering their service."[1] On the other hand the neighboring BMS at Wathen put no such strictures on their pupils. Bentley wrote of the pupils who left the boarding school; "Many will drift back to the towns and earn their living as the natives generally or by some handicraft. Some would be printers and bookbinders for our press here. A fair number should develop sufficiently to enter the State service as clerks, telegraphists, and railway or steamer men, but the best we hope to see develop into teachers, pastors, and evangelists."[2]

When the Catholic missionaries talked of vocational education they did not have in mind wage employment, but one of two things. Either this was the training of a limited number of young men as artisans to meet mission building and maintenance needs, or it was mass manual labor in the fields to provide the necessary food to enable them to harbor large groups of Christians and potential converts on the station under missionary supervision. Even the WF rejected preparing Africans for wage employment because they did not want to remove the African from his traditional environment. Lavigerie writing in his Secret Memo[3] of the methods of evangelization found the preparation of artisans "somewhat useless" in that the African

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[1]I/1/97 quoted in Laveille, p. 228.

[2]Bentley to Sir Charles Wathen, VI/28/90, M.H., October 1890, pp. 381-382.

[3]Storme, Rapports..., pp. 120-122.

did not have houses or wear suits and therefore had no need of masons, tailors or similar craftsmen. The result of offering such manual training would mean that the African would not return to his own environment, "but would remain in the midst of Europeans," a result he had observed from WF experience in Algeria.

It was clearly the latter objective---the use of manual labor for moral rejuvenation as it would later be termed---which was the central activity of Catholic missions.

A Redemptorist missionary in a comparative study of Protestant and Catholic mission methods in 1903 stressed the fact that neither literacy nor vocational training for employment were important. "What is most important above all in a country where laziness engenders all sorts of physical and moral miseries, is to inspire a love for and spirit of work."[1] He continued in a statement typical of the Belgian mission majority view after the turn of the century, when they were under continual pressure from the State and Railway Company to supply labor:

> Without doubt the State and the Railway Company teach work to the natives and thus render an immense service. But this work ordinarily has a passing motive. It is imposed or undertaken by young people desirous of procuring the funds necessary to obtain one or several wives. It falls in great part upon the missionary, the duty to inspire the taste and spirit of work, a taste and spirit which will last....Without doubt we must not spare ourselves any trouble in furnishing to the State, the Railway Company and other firms, well-trained natives who can fulfill various functions. But to throw everyone into this career, if it is a folly in Europe, will be a greater one in the Congo. I believe that the young Congolese, generally speaking, will be more useful to himself and society in liking manual work than in knowing how to read and write.[2]

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[1]Simpelaere, Mouvement des Mission Catholiques au Congo, mars 1903, p. 71.

[2]Ibid.

It was clear few Catholic missionaries felt even manual labor for secular groups was beneficial,[1] largely because it took the African out from under the minute supervision and control of the missionary and thus challenged the stability of their religious work.

Jesuit policy in the Congo is particularly illustrative of the majority Catholic mission economic policy view, both because it was one of the largest and undoubtedly most politically powerful of the Belgian orders in the Congo and because its field of operations was the populace Lower Congo, center of local government and commercial activities. After the turn of the century, the Jesuits were forced to make some alteration in their educational policy toward outside employment of their adherents. This was the period of intense rivalry for villages with the neighboring Protestant missions in the Lower Congo. The educational opportunities offered by the Protestant

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[1]The WF in the east were somewhat more liberal in their view of the usefulness of employment, but they were a distinct minority and were isolated from the center of economic development and other missions. Roelens wrote:

> "The State and commercial societies indirectly render good service to the missions in exiging from all the Blacks under their authority a certain amount of work. They have only in view, undoubtedly, their own profit, but the moralizing effect is none the less felt."
> See, Missions des PB, juin 1903, p. 178.

Isolated statements from the Upper Kasai Scheutists also indicate non-missionaries could make a contribution in civilizing and assisting the missionaries if "they could only succeed in inculcating in the African a spirit of work," (Father Léon Van der Molen, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, janvier 1905, p. 18) but Scheutist colleagues elsewhere did not share this view Father Joseph Van Moorhem, IX/16/07, at Kangu, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, décembre 1907, p. 148 and DeCleene, "La Question Scolaire au Congo," XI/8/08, ibid., mars 1909, pp. 28-29.

missions were drawing large numbers of Africans to their missions. The Jesuits, goaded on by the success of neighboring Protestant societies, began in 1902 to make half-hearted efforts.[1] In August 1903 the Governor General and Inspector of State, accompanied by several railway executives, visited Kisantu. Banckaert wrote of the visit:

> The Governor-General particularly talked to me about schools. He examined the books and the writings of the children. He desires that we prepare the most intelligent to enter into the functions of State subalterns in order to replace the negroes that the State has been forced to request from the English colonies. Thus, it is well one of the purposes which we envision: without doubt first of all to train good catechists, but then to introduce our children in the State and railway administration where they will be good Catholics.[2]

Thus, after fulfilling their catechist needs, the State came second. But the main purposes of providing educated manpower to the local economy was not because they saw any intrinsic importance in such cooperation either for themselves or their Africans, nor because they wished to assist the State, but "in order not to see ourselves ousted in these jobs by Protestants."[3] The central school at Kisantu had been opened by Van Hencxthoven in 1901 for the same reason, but little educational development took place between 1901 and 1903 in terms of placing Africans in outside employment. In March 1901 Van

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[1]Banckaert, Missions belges, janvier 1903, p. 31; Laveille, p. 254. Such activity also helped to improve relations with the State. It should be remembered that Van Hencxthoven was replaced partly because of the deterioration in State-Jesuit relations. This educational concession would certainly be welcomed by the Administration which had long been goading the Belgian missions to do so.

[2]Julien Banckaert, Missions belges, décembre 1903, p. 445.

[3]J. Banckaert to Canon Leroy, President of The Higher Seminary of Liege, IX/8/03, Missions belges, décembre 1903, pp. 449-450; Repeated in Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, novembre, 1903, p. 318.

Hencxthoven wrote[1] to his Provincial:

> ...Protestanism is infiltrating itself in the region by means of the railway where the [Protestant] ministers have had several of their adeptes hired as pointeurs and telephone operators. Under pain of being outflanked, we must stand up to them on this terrain. That is why after Easter [1901] we will establish a special course [at Kisantu] for our children from the Upper Congo who want employment of this kind."

It should be remembered that in 1900 the Jesuits had had to withdraw their catechists of Upper Congo origin (wards of the State) because of the resentment in local Bakongo villages at these "foreign" intruders. They were, thus, no longer useful to the religious work of the mission. Van Hencxthoven continued: "It would be better for their souls if they remained here with us as simple farm workers, but many don't appear to be content with this humble position. Several, indeed, have already obtained employment with the railway." From 1903 on the published letters of Jesuit missionaries from the Lower Congo state that the school at Kisantu had a twofold purpose: to train catechists for the mission and subaltern personnel for the government and railway company.[2] Yet in 1908 the Kisantu school had only furnished "several" guards to the railway, a few warehousemen for the government and personal interpreters for individual Europeans.[3]

While the Jesuits were typical of the Catholic mission position of adversion to wage employment, they were however, an exception in terms of the positive steps they took to provide economic opportunity

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[1]Van Hencxthoven to Provincial, III/22/01 quoted in Laveille, pp. 275-276.

[2]See, for example, one of the first such letters dated X/16/03 from Father Goosens at Kisantu, Missions belges, février 1904, p. 66.

[3]Vermeersch, Bulletin de la Société belge d'études coloniales, p. 27.

to their followers. In order to keep their African Christians from running away to seek State or commercial employment, Van Hencxthoven decided the mission itself would have to provide increasing economic opportunities to hold their young people. This was to be done by making the central stations, particularly Kisantu, into large industrial parks and model farms. Here children with trade skills would find employment. By the turn of the century Kisantu had its own tannery, brewery, shoe factory, woodshop, cigar factory, soapmaking plant and printing press. There were Congolese skilled as masons, sawyers, carpenters and blacksmiths and one was training brewers, shoemakers, gardeners and nurserymen. Later the girls made wearing apparel. In addition since 1899 the Jesuits had more than 1,000 head of imported cattle. The products of these industries were sold to local Europeans and the money used to finance mission activities.[1]

As a further alternative to letting young people go away to work for the State, Van Hencxthoven agreed to accept a government proposal that the Jesuit mission pupils cooperate with the State in rubber cultivation. In this way the young people would not be exposed to moral evils and association with Europeans, yet they could contribute to the type of economic development encouraged by the State. Jesuit catechists heading fermes-chapelles would be invested with State authority to supervise the cultivation of rubber plants. Van Hencxthoven also pointed out such investiture of power would help

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[1]Laveille, pp. 228-231; Father Butaye, XI/17/01, Missions belges, février 1902, p. 62; décembre 1905; p. 462; de Meeus and Steenberghen, pp. 147-149.

stop the Protestants, would increase the prestige of the Jesuit catechists in the eyes of the local population and would add to the mission's financial resources.[1] By the end of January 1900 the system of State-Jesuit rubber development was in operation,[2] and the following year Van Hencxthoven wrote of "vast plantations in villages and fermes-chapelles" being worked by Jesuit catechists and Christian children.[3] Van Hencxthoven envisioned grouping them together with the central stations into a "cooperative society for the provisioning of Leopoldville."[4]

At the same time that the Catholic missions were attempting to retain young people on their agricultural fermes-chapelles, Christian villages, and central stations, the major Protestant missions not only were willing to provide trained Africans to the Administration and commercial firms, they were eager to do so. While Jesuit efforts were geared to building up a vast system of self-sufficient agriculture and cash crop production in self-contained communities, BMS missionaries were estatic over the development of the modern economy and its economic opportunities.

> It must be borne in mind that each passing year is multiplying the number of possible employments. The limited horizon of native life is widening indefinitely. The young people will not be held in check by the restraints which their fathers have yielded to. In other parts of Africa it has been discovered to be the business of a

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[1]Van Hencxthoven to Provincial in Belgium, XII/8/99 quoted in Laveille, pp. 232-233.

[2]Van Hencxthoven to Father Malou, I/26/09 quoted in Ibid., p. 233.

[3]Ibid., p. 268, note 2.

[4]Van Hencxthoven to Provincial, I/9/03, quoted in Laveille, pp. 231-232.

> mission to fit them for these new employments, to train not only teachers and evangelists; but clerks, artificers in iron, carpenters, agriculturists, etc. It is surely our duty to do the most we can for the people we love and work for, that they may not always be the lowest down, but may be fitted to take the places they can take if they are willing to make the degree of effort necessary for it.[1]

Even the ABMU viewed the railway as a civilizing agency. Charles Harvey wrote in 1909 from the Lower Congo Banza Manteke station: "It is a pleasure to acknowledge that while there are certain drawbacks to the influence of the railway as a civilizing agency, still, on the whole, the effect of this enterprise has been towards the social uplift of the natives."[2] BMS missionaries even anticipated possible employments. For example, in 1889, when construction on the railway had just begun, Bentley at Wathen wrote for telegraphic equipment and his wife, on furlough in England in 1889, studied telegraphy on the basis that "telegraphists will be needed and some of our boys may find good openings in the railway."[3] At other times they were willing to alter their curriculum to facilitate wage employment. The ABMU station school at Banza Manteke expanded its French offerings in 1906 because "mission boys who can write well and know French are continually sought by the railway company,"[4] a view shared by CBM missionaries.[5]

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[1]Smith, Yakusu, p. 279.

[2]B.M.M., September 1909, pp. 319-320.

[3]Bentley to Messrs. A. Gurney and W. Lepard Smith, VIII/9/89, M.H., December 1889, p. 436. In 1889 while on furlough in England Bentley of Wathen station asked his wife while on furlough to learn telegraphy and to take back appropriate equipment "in order that the boys might practice telegraphy, and so fit themselves for taking posts at the various railway stations later on." Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 347. See also, Bentley VIII/9/89, M.H., December 1889, p. 436 and BMS Annual Report for 1890, M.H., May 1891, p. 212.

[4]Seymour Moon, B.M.M., October 1906, p. 400.

But even these major Protestant educators were aware of and worried about the "threat" to their religious operations of wage employment resulting from their educational efforts. For example, the calibre of the training given at Kimpese, where both French and Portuguese were taught, as well as advanced mathematics, while it was designed to make better teacher-evangelists, "will at the same time enable them to command a much higher return for their services on the labour market."[1] The problem was that BMS and ABMU teacher-evangelists were paid by their native churches and there was a question as to whether these Congolese churches could afford to pay their teacher-evangelists competitive wages. Therefore, "the temptation will be an ever present one"[2] wrote Rev. Thomas, but the BMS-ABMU dealt with the problem not by attempting to exert force or coercion to retain these men, but by trusting that their faith and individual responsibility would be sufficiently high to result in a sense of duty to their work.

Unlike Catholic order policy, Protestant missions had no objections in general to the African learning useful skills and obtaining employment, but they preferred that such employment be in rural areas or most preferably that the African return to his village with advanced skills and there become a "living example" of the benefits

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[5]T. Hope Morgan of CBM thought French was a necessity at Lower Congo missions because boys wanted to get jobs with the State and railway. See his statements in G.C.R., 1909, p. 9.

[1]Rev. G. Thomas of BMS, Ibid., 1909, p. 90. See also comments on p. 67.

[2]Ibid., 1909, pp. 90-93.

of the mission. They had no desire to keep trained Africans under their immediate supervision on the mission station or in Christian villages. What did alarm certain Protestant missionaries was the pernicious moral influence of the new European towns. It was felt "moral evils" and "spoilt and corrupted characters" resulted from village boys flocking to such centers as Leopoldville and Matadi. It was said after a year in such urban centers young men became "insufferably lazy" upon returning to the country.[1] The answer was to encourage boys to remain in their own villages and use their new skills to support themselves independently from the subsistence economy.[2] These fears of the "great moral danger" of urban areas were echoed by other Protestant missionaries,[3] even by the GEM in the Katanga, where no urban centers existed.[4]

REASONS FOR METHODS AND POLICIES CHOSEN

Such policy fears, while no present danger existed in the immediate situation, led one to ask why missionaries voiced such views and how effective were they in implementing them. The initial choice of educational organization and mission method and policy was mainly due to previous experience in other geographical areas and

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[1]T. Hope Morgan, CBM transport agent at Leopoldville, G.C.R., 1907, p. 144.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Rev. R. Ray Eldred of FCMS, ibid., p. 144; Rev. J. Whitehead of BMS, G.C.R., 1909, p. 10.

[4]Arnot writing in 1894 quoted in Baker, p. 256. Arnot cautioned his colleagues not to encourage the African to work at trading posts and government stations because there he would pick up the white man's

specific views on Congolese intellectual capabilities. The implementation of whatever organization and method were chosen, however, depended upon individual leadership and consistent organization and planning.

Influence of Previous Experience

New policies are usually not born full grown in an instant of time like Athena from the head of Zeus. Rather they result from previous effort or trial and error. That is, habit, previous experiences, and practical limitations appear more influential than conviction in explaining the educational methods and policies followed by the majority of early mission societies in the Congo.

The majority of missionary orders serving the Congo had missions in other areas of the world, mainly Asia, Latin America and the American South.[1] The influence on educational development in the Congo of previous educational experience in Asia, particularly India, and the American South was extensive. This was true not only of mission orders who had actually worked in these areas, but also of other societies who had heard of the results. The experience in India, where missionareis had early concentrated upon preparing a well-educated elite by introducing regular English-type academic secondary schools, had led to political upheaval. The

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vices, even under the best control, such as in mining compounds, which Arnot had observed in neighboring countries. Their aim, Arnot pointed out, was to uplift the African within his own village by stimulating African industries "and in preserving African village life."

[1]The BMS, ABMU, FCMS and Jesuits were in India and elsewhere in Asia as were the APCM, CBM, SMS and Scheutists. The SHF served Equador until they were expelled, the Redemptorists the Antilles and Canada and the WF were in Algeria. Some, such as the Trappists and Premonstratensians, had never operated outside of Belgium. See, "Les missionnaries belges au commencement du XXè siècle," Missions belges, novembre 1904, pp. 414-423 and Ed. de Moreau, Les missionnaires

official journal of the American Presbyterian Foreign Missions Board in reviewing a book on Missions and Modern History, editorialized that "the lesson of...the Indian Mutiny is shown to be that education and a veneer of civilization do not bring about change of character..."[1] The BMS and Jesuit views were particularly influenced by their India experiences. The Jesuit Superior, Father Julien Banckaert, who spent 23 years in India, the last seven as Superior before coming to the Congo as Superior,[2] wrote in late 1908 warning his missionary colleagues of the dangerous results of introducing education in India before having taught the people "the love of work." The result was "déclassés, and malcontents, who finished by teaching themselves to make bombs, derail trains, kill Europeans and preach revolt, while exalting crime."[3]

The Protestant missionaries were particularly influenced by the successes of the education and industrial training methods of Dr. Stewart at Lovedale, South Africa, Laws at Livingstonia in East Central Africa, Booker T. Washington at Tuskeegee and H. Frisdell at Hampden Institute in the American South as well as the Basle missions of West Africa.[4] For example, Crawford of the GEM first

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belges de 1804 jusqu'à nos jours. 2nd ed. (Bruxelles: Editions universitaires, 1944).

[1]Book by Robert E. Speer reviewed in Miss., June 1905, p. 280. The American Presbyterians had missions in China, Japan, Brazil and Mexico, but not in India.

[2]Missions belges, juin 1902, p. 236.

[3]Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1909, pp. 20-21.

[4]M.I., November 1894, p. 402; September 1899, p. 185; Smith, Yakusu, p. 280; Guiness, Not Unto Us, p. 104; Hughes (ed.), Industrial Self-Supporting Missions, p. 52; Aaron Sims at Leopoldville, ABMU Annual Report for 1896, B.M.M., July 1897, p. 408; Rev. W.H. White to

heard of modern mission methods, including education, during his first visit to Livingstonia in 1896. It would be the influence of Laws which would get Crawford started on building the first western-type schools in the Katanga.[1] The BMS also was cognizant of the experience of Protestant missionaries in Sierre Leone and Nigeria.[2] For example, George Grenfell pointed out:

> Through my visits to Sierre Leone have always been brief, yet I have had considerable experience of employees trained by the Missions there, and my experience justifies me, I think, in attributing much of the odium that has fallen upon Sierre Leone Missions for having produced sociological results that are the reverse of desirable, to the mistake that has been made in laying so much stress upon scholastic education, and so little upon technical training. To give a considerable education to young people who have none of the restraints of Christianity to regulate their conduct, and who despise labour rather than recognize any dignity in it, is regarded by all those who have had experience of the African character as a very unsatisfactory policy.[3]

The Jesuits and others were aware of the educational achievements of negroes in the American South which "demonstrated the susceptibility of intellectual development, equal to that of the white,"[4]

Baynes, XII/30/94, M.H., February 1895, pp. 62-63; Crawford, Thinking Black, p. 205.

[1]Crawford, Thinking Black, p. 205.

[2]Thomas Comber to Baynes, VII/24/82, M.H., November 1882, p. 363. The BMS had even heard of the Old Deluder Satan Act of New England. See, S. Osborne Kempton at Yakusu, M.H., December 1905, p. 587.

[3]Grenfell to Dennis, III/28/95 quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 383.

[4]Address by Senator Léger in the Upper Assembly of the Belgian Parliament, September 3-8, 1908 quoted in Missions belges, octobre 1908, p. 367.

but it does not seem to have influenced their policy in the Congo. Rather their Congo policy appears to be more a reaction against what they observed in India. The WF were influenced before coming to the Congo both by Protestant missions in Liberia and Sierre Leone and by the HGF in West Africa, particularly by the notion that Africa must be transformed by the African.[1] The Scheutists attempted to follow in the Congo the methods of their colleagues serving in China which were reminescent of the Jesuit réductions of 17th century Paraguay.[2]

Most of the SHF missionaries sent to the Congo in the early years were missionaries who had been expelled from Equador.[3] While many of the Catholic missionaries who came to the Congo visited the HGF stations at Landana in the Portuguese enclave of Cabinda and Linzola in the neighboring French Congo,[4] they seem to have taken only a few

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[1]Lavigerie quoted in Storme, Rapports, pp. 97, 99, 116.

[2]The life of the local people drawn into these satellite mission towns was so regimented that it was claimed the church bell even tolled at intervals during the night to remind the people of their marital duties.

[3]Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls..., pp. 2, 5; Jeanroy, Vingt-cinq ans de Missions..., p. 135.

[4]Bethune, Missions Catholiques d' Afrique, pp. 289-290, 299; Gasper, p. 10; Father Emeri Cambier to his family from Bergha-Ste-Marie, X/30/89, Missions en Chine et au Congo, juillet 1889, p. 93. Cambier was particularly impressed by the HGF method of repurchasing a great number of children, a method he would introduce in the Scheutist Upper Kasai area.

ideas back to the Congo with them. Lieberman, Superior of the HGF order in West Africa and pioneer developer of their methods, decided, after so many of his first missionaries died, that evangelization of African would have to be undertaken by Africans themselves. As early as 1846 in a memorandum to the Congregation of the Propaganda, he envisioned establishment of schools, catechists and even an indigenous clergy.[1] In the HGF mission at Landana industrial training was given as needed, regeneration through work was stressed,[2] along with the system of ransoming slave children and developing huge plantations with their labor.[3] There were extensive fields and herds for food production. When the children reached adulthood they were married and established in Christian villages. Many of these ideas would be used in the Congo. For example, Van Hencxthoven had visited Landana before establishing Kisantu and had been impressed and enthused with the results he saw obtained.[4] But when Van Hencxthoven visited Landana, the HGF also had some 15 students learning Latin in a Lower Seminary as preparation for possible entry into the priesthood,[5] a feature of the HGF methods which the Jesuits

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[1]Roeykens, Nouvelle revue de Science missionaire, pp. 68-69.

[2]Hughes (ed.), Industrial Self-Supporting Missionaries, p. 52.

[3]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, I, p. 162.

[4]Laveille, p. 97-98.

[5]Laveille, p. 98.

and other Belgian Catholic missions with the exception of the WF would ignore in the Congo until ordered to do so by the Pope in the 1920's.

Missionaries in certain areas of the Congo were also aware of each other's work. For example, the Catholic and Protestant societies in the Lower Congo were known to each other and visited as well by missionaries proceeding upriver. The stations along the upper River were also visited by missionaries proceeding further inland.[1] Probably the most significant borrowing took place in the Lower Congo. The BMS Wathen station began early a procedure of recruiting several pupils from each village within their area, so that after their schooling they returned to their respective villages thereby greatly expanding the station's influence and contacts. This recruitment method was copied later by the Redemptorists, Jesuits and Mayumbe Scheutists, all working in nearby Lower Congo areas where they had an opportunity to observe Wathen's success.

The WF, WIM, and GEM were isolated, working alone in large areas. Thus, the educational example of the WF had no effect either on other Catholic missionaries or the government. The achievements of the WF were not widely known until the beginning of Catholic joint missionary meetings in Belgium in October 1905 and in the Congo in February 1907. At this latter meeting of Catholic mission order superiors held at Leopoldville, Roelens, both chaired the Conference and taunted the

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[1]For example, the Premonstretensians on their way to the Uele area visited Scheutist and Trappist upper River stations. See, Gasper, p. 10. The FCMS and CBM in the Equator area were also aware of each others work. See M.I., March 1893, p. 90 and September 1900, p. 214; Smith, Yakusu, p. 280.

others with his religious elite success. These periodic meetings, like the Protestant ones begun in 1902, tended to give much more uniformity to general mission policy particularly in regard to their relations with the State and with their religious rivalry.

But such meetings did not attempt to bring unity in educational effort. The February 1907 Catholic meeting recommended the establishment of two types of schools---one vocationally-oriented to meet the requirements for land under the 1906 Convention and central schools for training catechist-teachers.[1] But there is no indication in missionary letters between February 1907 and November 1908 that any efforts were made to establish new vocationally-oriented schools.

Views on Congolese Capabilities

The type and extent of educational effort was also closely related to the educator's evaluation of his African pupils innate intellectual abilities, capacities and possibilities. Some mission orders had a much more optomistic view of the possibility of training Africans and affecting intellectual progress. These societies were usually the same orders which stressed the positive role of education in evangelism and they expressed these views from an early period.

The BMS, SMS, ABMU, FCMS, APCM and WF all[2] had in common a

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[1]Missions Catholiques du Congo. Aperçu sur certaines questions traitées dans la réunion tenue a Léopoldville en février 1907, (Kisantu: Imprimerie Bergeyck St. Ignace, 1907), pp. 4-5.

[2]For comments from the SMS, BMS, ABMU and FCMS see G.C.R., passim. The following remarks are typical:
"These people are seemingly bright and intelligent...",
Dr. Franklin Lynch at Mukimbika, B.M.M., October 1896,

"liberal" outlook on African capabilities. As in Europe or America, some children were considered brighter than others; some learned

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p. 506.

"In spite of their degraded condition, these people possess certain strong characteristics and indications of latent capacity not entirely inferior to that of the Asiatic or European...Their quick insight and intelligence make their regeneration comparatively easy." Dye, pp. 24-26.

"The blacks...are intelligent, perfectable and capable of progress...Those who judge the Blacks unintelligent because they do not have our organizational procedures, laws and our literature, arts and sciences, put themselves behind a bad point of view. Each race indeed had the intelligence conforming to the kind of civilization which it possesses and wishes to conserve following the circumstances and according to its past, its means and its tastes." Missions d'Afrique des PB, octobre 1899, pp. 312-313.

"We found these boys [at the first BMS school]to be very quick and intelligent when we tried to teach them." Thomas J. Comber to Baynes, from San Salvador, M.H., January 1879, p. 13.

"They [Congolese boys in station day school] proved to be very apt and intelligent scholars," W.C. Parkinson to Baynes, undated, M.H., October 1885, p. 421.

"Taking all things into consideration, I think the little folks of Africa are just as apt as are our American children." Mrs. Sheppard, principal of Luebo station school, XI/22/97, Miss., March 1898, p. 125.

"The most common mistake made by people in America is thinking that the African cannot be taught." Hensey, My Children of the Forest, p. 118.

"They [local Africans] have a capacity for receiving instruction and training that is very gratifying." E.E. Faris, FCMS Annual Report for 1899-1900, M.I., November 1900, p. 296.

See similar comments in Roelens, VI/15/98, Missions d'Afrique des PB, janvier 1899, p. 3; Roelens, IX/15/98, février 1899, p. 62; M.H., Thomas Comber to Baynes, undated, April 1880, p. 120; Rev. H.W. Butcher at Bayneston, October 1883, p. 348; Andrew Cruickshank at Stanley Pool to Baynes, March 1885, p. 100; Comber, June 1885, p. 222; BMS Annual Report for 1901, May 1902, p. 236; Miss., Mrs. Snyder from Luebo, X/24/93, March 1894, p. 101; Mrs. Adamson from Luebo, V/25/92, October 1892, p. 415; Mr. Vass from Luebo, X/3/99, February 1900, p. 70; W.M. Morrison, July 1901, p. 326; Smith, Yakusu, p. 207.

faster than others. In general these societies viewed the African as an overgrown child rather than a savage brute and one which was capable of growing into emotional and intellectual adulthood with proper guidance.[1]

The second clearly-definable group of attitudes toward Congolese capabilities was represented by the Scheutists and from the evidence available the CMA and MHF, as well. The Scheutists began in 1889, upon their arrival in the Congo, by expressing pessimistic views on African character and potential and retained this view through twenty years of work in the Congo. While the African was viewed as an overgrown child,[2] there was little hope for improvement. "Our Congolese are too stupid to be interesting," explained a Scheutist missionary in a letter to a colleague in Belgium.[3] Despite the futility of the task, it was the missionary's duty to "love" them as the "children of God." As for the concept that the only difference between the African and the European child was the difference of color, "this is a complete error," in that "the European child has lived in an atmosphere of Christianity, family love, freedom and dignity; the child of the Congo has known only servitude and barbarism."[4] But the pessimism went

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[1]Revs. K.E. Laman, Emil Ekstrom [SMS] and Rev. G. Thomes (BMS), G.C.R., 1906, p. 23, 1907, p. 64; G.C.R., 1909, p. 101; Vermeersch, La Question Congolaise, pp. 55-56; Roelens, Missions des PB, novembre 1907, p. 347.

[2]Father de Wilde from Berge-Ste-Marie, V/11/91, and DeCleene from Kangu, X/4/00, Missions en Chine et au Congo, décembre 1891, p. 556; février 1901, p. 20.

[3]Father G. Van Leuven from Mayumbe area, X/22/01, ibid., avril 1902, p. 91.

[4]DeCleene, "La colonie scolaire de Boma," ibid., juillet 1898, p. 91.

deeper than simply cultural heritage. The African child's head was like "a little rock," hopelessly hard.[1] In short it was questionable whether he was trainable or not and some had suggested that their pupils were little more than "talking beasts."[2] MHF missionaries also found the African "lacks intellect,"[3] and the CMA found "their minds appear to be so dull through the long influence of heathenism that they can scarcely grasp these deeper and higher [religious] truths..."[4]

The third grouping of attitudes toward Africans is ambivalent, though tending toward the pessimistic. The seven mission societies in this group, the Trappists, Redemptists, GEM, Premonstratensians, SHF, CBM and Jesuits rarely discussed the intellectual capacity of the African in their published letters and when they did opinion was divided. For example, CBM missionaries at Bonginda found among African children, as with American children, that "some of the children were bright, others are dull,"[5]; some learned quickly and some slowly.[6] While the director of the society found the African "sin-degraded descendants of originally purer, wiser, and happier races," rather

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[1] Ibid., p. 94.

[2] Father Garmyn, "Race blanche et race Noire," Missions en Chine et au Congo, juin 1903, pp. 133-140. This is not Father Garmyn's view, for he is one of the few Scheutists who in published letters found the African had hopes for improvement. He puts himself in opposition to these views of his colleagues.

[3] MHF Theodore Van der Linden, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, aout 1906, p. 244.

[4] CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 26.

[5] Mrs. Armstrong, R.B., November 1897, p. 422.

[6] Miss Dalgarno, ibid., February 1892, p. 91.

than "primeval man" but "they are teachable."[1] Yet Rev. E. Guyton labelled the African in 1909 as having "dull intellects."[2] A similar dichotomy of views is expressed by Trappist and Redemptorist missionaries.[3] What few statements the Premonstretensians and SHF made found the African "was not as limited in intellectual qualities as some pretended."[4] These are hardly glowing recommendations, although they do not preclude ultimate progress. Even these more pessimistic societies would undoubtedly accept an evolutionary view of cultural development.

It is significant to note that the major educators, the WF, SMS, BMS, and ABMU had a consistent and developed philosophy of the African character. While they, too, were unhappy with the current state of African behavior, they did not see the task ahead either as too far off,

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[1]Guiness, The New World of Central Africa, pp. 31-32.

[2]G.C.R., 1909, p. 100.

[3]Brother Boniface to Abbot of Westmalle, XII/29/95, from Bamania and Brother Stanislas to Abbot of Westmalle, XI/15/96 from Bamania, Messager de Notre-Dame au Sacré-Coeur, juillet 22, 1896, p. 250 and mai 7, 1897, p. 173. Boniface wrote:

> "One says sometimes that the negroes have little intelligence and that one can teach them no trade. Formerly, I believed this was really so, but since I have lived with the blacks I have entirely changed my opinion."

The Redemptorist Superior, Heintz, wrote to his father; "There are some who by no means lack intelligence." February 1904 from Tumba quoted in Sept Années au Congo, p. 39. This can be contrasted with the view taken by Redemptorist missionary, Paul Hubin (La Voix du Redempteur, avril 1909, p. 141), a very pessimistic view, although Hubin does conclude "the savage...is susceptible to perceptible and conspicuous progress..." There is no evidence available regarding the HGF and the WIM.

[4]Mgr. Van Hoof from Ibembo, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, janvier 1902, p. 26. See also, Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls..., p. 2.

nor too difficult. The Jesuits were the Group I exception. They exhibit an ambivalent attitude, often pessimistic, as to African possibilities similar to Group II mission societies. This is probably the major explanation of their deemphasis of educational development in the Congo compared to their usual stress on education in other geographic areas. As late as 1909 a Jesuit missionary felt constrained to reassure his colleagues at the Catholic Congress at Malines that "a negro is capable of intellectual culture. He is not a being intermediate between man and monkey. Those who affirm this without doubt have had only superficial relations with him..."[1] Optomistic remarks from other Jesuit missionaries[2] suggest that these few individuals found themselves at odds with the prevalent opinion within their order in the Congo. As late as 1914 missionary educators in the Jesuit school district found the "African population...so profoundly asleep in the ignorance of its primitive mores that it scarcely offers a favorable field for intellectual culture no matter how low."[3]

Most missionaries, at least those in Groups I and II were in agreement on two major factors of African character, a view of African individual character and civilization as being heriditary and evolutionary and what might be termed the theory of arrested intellectual

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[1]Jesuit Ivon Struyf, "Psychologie des Bacongos," Oeuvres Catholiques au Congo, p. 13.

[2]"The intellectual level is not as low as some please themselves to say." Father Butaye to a friend, XI/17/01, Missions belges, février 1902, p. 59. See similar comments in Missions belges by Father Auguste Lauwers, undated, septembre 1903, p. 342; diary entry XI/23/05 of Father de Vos, mai 1906, p. 183 and Lauwers, undated, mars 1903, pp. 102-103; Father Liagre to Provincial, VIII/20/93 quoted in Laveille, p. 121.

[3]Gabriel, p. 10.

development. Both these theories explain the emphasis upon children in affecting moral change.

Missionaries found most African character traits repugnant, especially those of adults. Adults were not only thought dull, indifferent, defiant, indolent and morally degraded, but these characteristics were firmly entrenched and difficult, if not impossible to change in the missionary view. Children, however, as children everywhere, were more curious, active, open, perceptive and more impressionable and maleable in that their characters were not yet solidly formed.[1]

While many missionaries in Group III particularly, tended to call the African adult stupid or dull and leave it there, Group I missionaries took great pains in their literature to explain the apparent dullness, not on the basis of inherentent biological inferiority, but in terms of cultural differences and faculty psychology.[2] That is,

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[1]Hughes, Dark Africa, pp. 36-37, 98; WF Guillème from Kibanga, Missions d'Alger, novembre 1887, p. 195; Roelens, Missions d'Afrique des PB, septembre 1899, pp. 267-268; Roelens, undated, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juillet 1900, p. 159; Roelens to a postulant at Carthage, undated, Missions des PB, décembre 1907, p. 356; WF Simons, "L'Enseignment secondaire au Haut-Congo," and Roelens, undated, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1904, p. 68 and mars 1908, p. 26; Diary of Father Cus, Missions belges, mars 1905, p. 103; Rev. A. L. Bain at Banza Manteke, VI/2/94, B.M.M., October 1894, p. 487; Mrs. Bell at Bongandanga, undated, R.B., April 1894, p. 158; Guiness, These Thirty Years, p. 49; Mrs. Snyder at Luebo, X/24/93, Miss., March 1894, p. 101, Smith, Yakusu, pp. 272-273.

[2]"They are men, but men who, placed in disadvantageous conditions... succeed however in triumphing over nature in founding families, a disciplined society and even to prefer their existence to all the pretended advantages of our refined civilization." Missions d'Afrique des PB, octobre 1899, p. 313. "Superstition, ignorance and vice have, like iron bands, fettered every faculty," wrote Rev. L.A. DeYampert [American negro missionary with the APCM] from Luebo, Miss., July 1905, p. 333. See similar comments in Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, I, p. 160.

there was no basic biological difference between the African and the European,[1] but a difference in cultural evolution and tradition which was passed on to each new generation. It was maintained that the difficulties in moral change were a result of "inherited evil" in the sense of revolting social customs "entrenched through the sanction of years" as well as to the physically debilatating climate and the poor example of white colonists.[2] The current state of civilization was not innate and unchangeable, but the result of institutions and mores practiced for years.[3] The Congolese were frequently likened to the Germanic or Gallic tribes of Europe at the beginning of the Christian era.[4] There was nothing hopeless about the situation, but it would be a long, slow evolutionary process accomplished by religion and the gospel of work. After all, they continually pointed out it took Europe 2,000 years to reach its present state of civilization. "They are savages, it is true, but no more no less than we were 2,000 years ago. And who is to say that in 2,000 years, the Africans will not have outdone us, surpassed us in civilization?"[5]

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[1]"They are exactly like us inside; the difference is only skin deep." Rev. Henry Richards at Banza Manteke, B.M.M., April 1890, p. 104.

[2]Lerrigo, p. 77.

[3]Vermeersch, La Question Congolaise, p. 248.

[4]Alexis, Les Congolais, pp. 135-136; Straelen, p. 19; Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals, p. 178.

[5]Alexis, Les Congolais, p. 136.

Centuries of superstition and fear, of easy living and licencious behavior had made the African lazy, inconstant in discipline and work habits, and insensitive to human suffering. They had also made him intellectually lazy. This quality of the dormant intellect made the African frequently appear to have little intelligence except for a phenomenal memory. These characteristics were explained on the basis of faculty psychology. This memory faculty had been well-exercised over the centuries because with no written languages the African had need to remember and to be an acute observer and clever bargainer.[1] The only "faculty which remained to him intact, sharpened even from day to day by the absence of all specie of writing, was the memory."[2] Those areas of the brain having to do with analytic thinking, foresight, planning, delicate sensitivities and compassion and especially perserverence in book learning had lain dormant for centuries for lack of exercise.

However, the situation was not hopeless at least as viewed by Group I and II mission societies. Not only was the current state of African civilization attributed to the passing on of cultural traits over centuries, but change would also be evolutionary by first changing children and then forming Christian families in which these new Christian traits would be passed on. That is, social change was possible through a combination of religion, work and education, but

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[1]For comments on this type of material reasoning see DeCleene, "La colonie scolaire de Boma," Missions en Chine et au Congo, juillet 1898, p. 96; Rev. Philips Verner, undated, Miss., March 1897, p. 103.

[2]Jesuit Joseph Prévers, Missions belges, mai 1901, p. 178.

over a period of time.[1] The African was not born with immutable original sin, but only inherited cultural degradation. This degradation could be removed most easily by changing the prospective transmittor, the parent, while he was still a child.

This view of culture as being heriditary and evolutionary was widely held by the missionaries and served as the basis of their views on social change. This evolutionary and heriditary view of individual change was one of the reasons which prompted Group I and II mission societies to concentrate upon children in their educational work. These missionaries tended to believe, as did the schoolmasters of English Public Schools, that character traits were hereditarily transferable. As Jesuit Father Cus stated, "lying, stealing and laziness are still in their blood" but "good training and time"[2] would mean that later generations would be on a higher cultural plane. Particularly the WF and the BMS missionaries saw improvement as being possible.

But there remained another inherited, evolutionary, barrier to be overcome. Most missionaries in the Congo, including those in Group III, subscribed to what one might call the theory of arrested development. It was observed by the missionaries that African children as they approached puberty no longer were as trainable, and that this constituted one of the greatest problems in introducing civilization.

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[1]Father Joseph Prévers, Missions belges, mai 1901, p. 178; FCMS Annual Report for 1901-02, M.I., November 1902, p. 364; Diary of Father Cus, Missions belges, mars 1905, p. 103; Roelens, IX/10/98, Missions d'Afrique des PB, février 1899, p. 62. An APCM missionary stated; "They receive nothing but ignorance by heredity, so their knowledge must come through self-effort." Mrs. Sheppard, principal of Luebo station school, XI/22/97, Miss., March 1898, p. 125. For other faculty psychology and cultural hereditary views see, Guiness, The New World of Central Africa, pp. 31-32; Dr. W.C. Widowson at Bolenge, M.I., September 1907, p. 358.

[2]Father Cus diary, Missions belges, mars 1905, p. 103.

> It is said, and I am led to believe it, that the Africans, having reached a certain age, about 17 years, are no longer susceptible to somewhat more advanced instruction. For several days, one does one's best, but in vain, to teach adults the ABC's without succeeding in getting it into their heads. Perhaps this is what makes one believe that the negroes are stupid.[1]

That is, up until the mid-teens the African intellect was "lively and quick"[2] but "the intelligence of the blacks offers this peculiarity that about age 15 it stops obstinately, rebel to all increases in knowledge."[3] Both a physiological and a cultural explanation were offered for this peculiarity. "This cease in intellectual development, which occurs at the epoque of puberty is said to be due, according to certain physiologists, to a thickening of the bony matter of the cranial box, sufficiently thick to make permanent compressions on the brain."[4]

While the Jesuits described and explained this view of African capacity in physiological terms, other missionaries also attributed this "decline in intellectual faculties" both to lack of exercising of the mind and to general laziness and charnal passions passed on through generations.[5] A BMS missionary wrote that the atrophy of the mind was due to the nature of traditional education. By the age of 14 or 15 young

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[1]Father Auguste Lauwers, Missions belges, mars 1903, pp. 102-103.

[2]Vermeersch, La Question Congolaise, p. 57.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid. "At the age of 16, in the mass of the people, the brain seems to begin to dry up or harden; and each successive year finds this process continuing, till in early manhood and womanhood the reception of new ideas is painfully slow and difficult." Robert Glennie, The Congo and Its People: A Handbook (London: Carey, s.d.[1926]), p. 33.

[5]Mgr. Van Hoof, Premonstratensian, undated, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, janvier 1902, pp. 26-27.

boys had learned all their fathers and tribe had to teach them. "Thus, their intelligence has attained, for generations, its fullest development by the above age, and now we have to help them over that crucial stage."[1]

While most missionaries subscribed to these views on arrested intellectual development, not all saw the situation as hopeless. "One hears, however, that prior intellectual cultivation can, up to a certain point, by habits of activity, neutralize the unfortunate effect of this cause. Mgr. Roelens declares that the black whose mind has been more exercised is less prone to this intellectual stagnation."[2] Roelens, attributing this arrested intellectual development to cultural conditioning---laziness, free rein to venal passions, drinking, hemp smoking---and inheritance of such traits, saw the remedy in reconditioning habit by exercise of the brain.[3] Bentley, too, felt this problem could be remedied if while still young "their education was pushed to a certain point" so that they "begin to think for themselves." This would break the cultural grip of "gross superstitions" which Bentley felt were also a contributing cause to the problem of arrested intellectual development.[4] These dormant faculties could be activated, thus, by work and Christian teaching.

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[1]Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals, p. 76.

[2]Vermeersch, La Question Congolaise, p. 57.

[3]Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, I, pp. 199-213.

[4]Bentley to a benefactor, X/6/93 from Stanley Pool, M.H., March 1884, pp. 93-94. See also, Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals, p. 76. In speaking of the brighter boys Weeks said, "there is no limit to the intellectual progress they may make."

This arrested development was the cause, according to missionaries, both for the concentration upon children[1] and for the lack of greater progress in their work.[2] A CBM missionary pointed out in 1900 that in the U.S. "the adult and adolescent negro seems to have no difficulty in acquiring head knowledge" so that only future generations would "prove whether it [arrested intellectual theory] is or is not an insuperable obstacle to the elevation of the negro races to the level of the white.[3]

While this view of intellectual growth persisted for a long while, opinion began to change. A paper given at the 1921 General Protestant Conference by Rev. R. D. Bedinger of the APCM summarized the then current view by stating that the beginning of puberty "marks the limit of the Africans mental development..." Culturally speaking "the precocity and exuberance of sexual development robs the native of the possibility of great mental attainment, the uncontrolled riot of sexual impulse producing atrophy or at least arrest of the higher functions of the brain." The biological explanation stated "that the cranial sutures ossify at an early age and prevent further expansion of the cranium."[4]

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[1]Father Brielman at Kisantu, Missions belges, février 1901, p. 61. He pointed out; "You will notice without doubt that there are only children here, hardly any young people. Here is the reason. The Congolese up until age 12, for some age 13 or 14, is apt to learn everything. After this age he remains stationary, his faculties cloud over. What he has learned he doesn't ordinarily forget, but his intelligence is no longer capable of understanding new difficulties proposed to him."

[2]Glennie, p. 33.

[3]Mrs. Ruskin at Bongandana, undated, R.B., October 1900, p. 397.

[4]Quoted in Peter Hugh James Lerrigo, Rock-Breakers: Kingdom Building in Kongo Land (Philadelphia, Boston: Judson Press, 1922) p. 68. For another contemporary view in 1930 putting forward this thesis of arrested mental development see R. Borgerhof, "Les facultes intellectuelle des noirs" Renaissance d'Occident, XXXII, janvier-février-mars, 1930, p. 55.

But now missionaries raised the question as to the validity of these explanations and particularly the verity of the observations upon which they were based and suggested "may it not also be true that the poverty of his mental attainments is due in large measure to the meagreness of his educational opportunity?"[1]

Strong Organization and Leadership

Institutions are built by men not policy alone. How much mission societies chose to do in education was most influenced by mission views on the usefulness of education in religious prostelization, but how well they carried out their plans was dependent upon individual leadership and organization. The pioneering of any institution requires the energy and leadership of a forceful character, while maintaining an already developed system can be done in a much more routine and bureaucratic fashion.

While differences in policy, previous experience and views on Congolese intellectual capabilities explain much of the variation in the pattern of educational organization, the impact of strong individual leadership, consistent planning and the maintenance of standards were perhaps the crucial fact in determining the success of whatever educational organization and methods were chosen. Certainly organization and leadership were one of the primary factors in explaining the variation in educational effort between Protestant societies. All Protestant missions suffered the same problems---shortages of men, money and material, yet some stations were more successful in education

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[1]Lerrigo, p. 68.

than others. The most obvious explanation is that some missionaries used their resources more efficiently. Indeed, educational success, as opposed to total effort in the sense of the role education was to play in total activity, in the early years in the Congo was far more the result of one man's leadership than of the total society's policy. This is most clearly illustrated by looking at the BMS and ABMU societies with strong educational effort in general. Yet this effort varied radically between stations. Why were Lukolela, Monsembe, Palabala (until Harvey's arrival in 1903) such failures as stations, while Wathen, Upoto, Banza Manteke, and Yakusu blossomed? The answer is the former had dynamic leadership. Palabala is a good example. Harvey went there in 1903 and within three years enrollment in the station day school tripled and a preparatory class was begun for the central training school at Banza Manteke.[1]

Indications of the maintenance of standards can be seen both in the length of time each order required for baptism, in the length of time and content of teacher preparation and in their strength in resisting over-rapid educational expansion with unprepared teachers. There is good correlation between the length of time required for baptism and the three typologies. For example, the Scheutists in Group III demanded only one year of oral religious instruction,[2]

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[1]See statistics in Annual Reports for 1902-06 in the May issues of B.M.M.

[2]Father Croonenberghs, Curé of Boma, undated, and Father H. DeClercq to T.R.F. Prefect, VIII/16/05 from Nouvelle-Anvers, Missions en Chine et au Congo, décembre 1902, p. 282 and février 1906, p. 26; Scheutist Father Honoré Baten from Bumba, II/25/06, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1906, p. 182.

while the SHF and HGF of Group II required two years of catechism instruction, although the SHF made many exceptions.[1] On the other hand the WF demanded four years of religious preparation and good conduct before baptism.[2] Indeed, Roelens himself stated it was in these stringent requirements "faithfully observed...that it is necessary to look for the reason for the serious progress that the [WF] missionaries obtained in their apostolate."[3] Such emphasis upon quality had been recommended by the WF founder, Cardinal Lavigerie,[4] and was faithfully followed throughout the period under study.[5]

While Group I Protestant missions appear to have had no set time limit on such things as baptism, they nonetheless described their policy as one where very few were accepted and then only after the missionaries

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[1]HGF A. Sébire, Superior Provincial of HGF at Lierre, Belgium, in Messager de St. Esprit, mai 1910, p. 148; Father Joseph Lens, undated, Regne du Sacré-Coeur, mars 1909, p. 39.

[2]Missions d'Afrique des PB, janvier 1898, p. 11. Such quality was felt "necessary" in Africa "...in order to raise them [Congoles] from the intellectual and moral depression in which they had fallen and to bring them a bit toward the level that we require of them," wrote Roelens in Missions des PB, septembre 1900, p. 260.

[3]Mgr. Roelens, VI/19/98, from Baudouinville, Missions d'Afrique des PB, novembre 1898, p. 326, note 1.

[4]Lavigerie quoted by Roelens, Missions des PB, juin 1900, p. 153.

[5]WF Joseph Weymersch in Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, décembre 1909, p. 164.

were sure of a change of heart.[1] While Protestant evidence here is meagre,[2] the main Catholic series of articles, by Redemptorist Father Simpelaere, on Protestant methods derisively pointed out this cautious policy as sheer folly and failure. Speaking of the British and American Baptists, Simpelaere pointed out they immediately opened schools but waited five years before their first four converts. Instead, he derisively noted, they emphasized "the school and preaching and reading of the Bible." Indeed, he estimates the Protestants in the Lower Congo only averaged about two baptisms per missionary in twenty years.[3] While these statistics are inaccurate, they do illustrate both the tremendous difference in emphasis between Group I Protestant societies and Catholic missions in general, as well as the cautious, careful policy of the Protestant Group I societies.

Group I mission societies were equally meticulous in the training of catechists. Roelens spoke for the WF when he stated "in order to go surely we are going slowly. We use only well-trained, instructed and proven catechists on whose good conduct and zeal we can count."[4]

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[1]See Thomas Lewis to Baynes, XII/6/87, from San Salvador, M.H., February 1888, p. 39.

[2]A leading Congo BMS missionary wrote several years later that while development and progress varied from station to station most Protestant missions followed the policy of demanding for baptism "public confession of sin, repentence toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Candidates for membership are expected to attend an inquirer's class, generally for not less than 12 months and to give sufficient evidence of change of heart, earnestness of purpose and adequate knowledge." See, Stonelake, "Missionary Situation in Congo," International Review of Missions, July 1919, p. 317.

[3]Simpelaere, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juillet 1902, p. 196 and octobre 1902, pp. 301-306.

[4]Roelens, "Rapport du Travail de la Mission du Haut Congo," Missions des PB, juillet 1904, p. 194.

The WF refused to send catechists out to villages until they had spent one to three years as an elementary teacher-catechist at a central station under the direct supervision of a missionary. Roelens recognized that "this method is slow. Much time is necessary in order to have well-trained catechists, but it is sure and gives excellent results. Thanks to our catechists all the youth in the neighborhood of our stations is already won to our holy religion."[1] An editorial in the WF journal stated "we prefer to postpone the establishment of chapelle-écoles in pagan areas, rather than to deregate this rule."[2] This was in sharp contrast to other Catholic missions who even withdrew promising pupils from their catechist school, if they needed extra personnel for religious expansion.[3]

The maintenance of quality standards by Group I missions is also illustrated by the care which the BMS gave the preparation of written materials. Their translation of the Bible is illustrative. Bentley published the New Testament in 1893, but died (December 1905) while working on the Old Testament. Since no remaining missionary felt he had the linguistic gifts or time to undertake finishing this large task, the job was divided between six BMS missionaries. Their work was not finished until 1916. But then even they were not entirely satisfied, as the work represented a variety of writing styles and variations in dialect depending upon the area of service in the Lower Congo of the missionary writing. It was decided to appoint a Revision

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[1]Roelens, "Rapport du travail de la Mission du Haut Congo," Missions des PB, juin 1905, p. 171.

[2]Editorial, Missions des PB, avril 1906, p. 107.

[3]Father Van Cleemput, III/1/08, La Voix du Redempteur, juin 1909, pp. 234-235.

Commission who, sentence by sentence, went through the whole work, bringing all the chapters into linguistic and stylistic agreement, a work of another seven years.[1]

The emphasis upon quality and organization was the key to Group I success. In terms of organizational skill, it meant these Group I societies had a clear, definite idea of the steps needed to change the African. To maintain quality and to operate a hierarchical system of schools required consistent organization and planning. The BMS, for example, stressed that sound organization was the first requirement of out-school work.[2] The WF and Jesuit curricula were not radically different from some Group II mission orders, particularly after 1903 (with the exception of the WF provision for secondary and higher religious education), but the main difference was that the WF and Jesuits began early, and organised and pursued their goals methodically. On the other hand Group III mission orders, such as the Scheutists, used a variety of methods which changed over time and between geographical regions. They had no clear idea how to affect their desired goals.

Group II missions tended to procrastinate. While they followed certain of the methods of nearby Group I missions, they did not consistently implement these patterns. Yet these mission societies frequently had the same number or more missionaries than Group I societies.[3]

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[1]Lewis, These Seventy Years, pp. 282-286.

[2]Paper by J.R.M. Stepehns of BMS at Wathen, G.C.R., 1906, p. 69.

[3]For example, the Redemptorists had 37 missionaries in 1908, while the SMS had 34 and the ABMU only 19. See Table II-II, p. 49.

For example, Redemptorist educational results hardly kept pace with plans. The Redemptorist missionary at Kionzo described the schools there in 1908 as "well-organized, well supplied and well attended."[1] Further on in his letter one learns that there are 20 pupils in the evening class for adults, 15 children in the morning class and five young men in the catechist school. While the FCMS maintained that "education must be the foundation stone to the work here as they [the Congolese] must be taught from the 'a,b,c,' up and a literature made for them as well,"[2] the station day school functioned only sporadically from 1899-1907 and they devoted little time or interest to language study.[3] Since 1904 Bolenge missionaries had continually requested that the home office send out a specialist for the education department, someone who would devote time and interest to translations and school materials and run the station day school[4] and later in 1907 for a special teacher to set up a training school for teachers and evangelists.[5] By 1906 FCMS missionaries were becoming increasingly concerned about the training of their evangelists and the need to

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[1]Isodore Goedleven at Kionzo, IX/24/08, La Voix du Redempteur, février 1909, p. 73.

[2]FCMS Annual Report for 1904-05, M.I., November 1905, p. 395.

[3]FCMS Annual Report for 1907-08, M.I., November 1908, p. 486.

[4]FCMS Annual Reports for 1904-05 and 1905-06, M.I., November 1905, p. 395, November 1906, pp. 417-418; December 1905, pp. 524-525; January and April 1906, pp. 25, 127.

[5]Dye, M.I., December 1905, p. 525.

establish "regular 'training schools' for them,"[1] but such a Bible School was not established at Bolenge until 1913.[2]

The impact of individual leadership in a pioneering period on educational development is clearly seen in the ultimate choice of GEM personnel in the Katanga as well as in differences between schools at Crawford's station of Luanza and the second GEM station in the Katanga, Koni Hill. Two of the first five Brethren, Swan and Thompson, after several years experience in the Katanga, arrived at the conclusion that less itineration and more settled station work and schools were necessary to obtain conversions as quickly as possible and to spread the Gospel message.[3] But both Swan and Thompson left the Katanga for Plymouth Brethren missions in surrounding territories where station work was in more favor. Crawford, who remained, continued to stress his interest in itineration rather than stable station work and schools. Koni Hill station, founded almost a decade after Luanza, nonetheless by 1908 had approximately the same enrollment in the station school---200.[4] This is explained largely by the differences in leadership of the two chief missionaries at each station. Crawford's lack of organizational skill and constant disdain for fixed station work compared disfavorably with the emphasis upon education by John A. Clarke at Koni Hill. Clarke, at Koni Hill for its entire six

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[1]FCMS Annual Report for 1907-08, M.I., November 1908, p. 484.

[2]Dye, p. 156.

[3]See, Arthur G. Inglesby, Pioneer Days in Darkest Africa: A Record of the Life and Work of Charles A. Swan (London: Pickering and Inglis, n.d. [1937]), pp. 81-82; Thompson, VII/11/93, from Lofoi, E.S., March 1894, p. 66.

[4]E.S. February 1908, pp. 57, 76.

years of operation during the CIS period, took a continuing interest in the station school which operated quite regularly,[1] while the school at Luanza changed hands frequently as missionaries came and went resulting in numerous recesses.[2] Clarke also emphasized the role of education, finding "the school is the very foundation of our work for God in this land...",[3] a sentiment echoed by his colleague.[4] While Crawford found the school "a lively part of our mission life[5] and an influence on the mission town,"[6] it was never the "very foundation" nor did Crawford take any personal responsibility for the school.

The CMA operation was another good example of the importance of organization to successful mission work including education. In 1899 in conjunction with the beginning of out-station work using African evangelists, the CMA announced[7] the opening of an evangelical training school at Vungu station, but it evidently fissled for in 1902 the CMA missionaries reported that "one of the greatest necessities is a mission training school for native workers."[8] The reason given was that there

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[1]Clarke, I/10/05, E.S., May 1905, p. 197.

[2]Tilsley, p. 476. See also E.S., January 1896, p. 26; June 1899, p. 172; November 1899, p. 333, February 1900, p. 47. Benjamin Cobbe began the school in 1895. Upon his death it was taken over by H.J. Pomeroy who was succeeded in early 1899 by Wilson. Mr. and Mrs. Anderson took the school in mid-1899 and in late 1899 it passed to Thomas Higgins.

[3]XI/1/04, E.S., March 1905, p. 96.

[4]Percy B. Last, XI/25/04, E.S., March 1905, p. 118.

[5]IX/20/00, from Lunaza, E.S., January 1901, p. 36.

[6]XI/2/00, E.S., April 1901, p. 156.

[7]CMA, Annual Report for 1899, p. 14.

[8]CMA, Annual Report for 1902, p. 100.

were insufficient missionaries in the field and they requested additional help be sent. Yet at this time there were seventeen American missionaries serving the smallest mission territory in the Congo. In 1906 a Bible training school was opened at Kinkonzi,[1] but evidently it too folded after several years as had the first at Vungu in 1899. The official historian would later write[2] that a "Bible Training School" was not opened until 1915 at Kinkonzi, "but the course was largely in the nature of a short term Bible School" which was exactly what the missionaries in 1906 claimed they started in that year.[3] Also in 1906 Maduda station began a Bible study class to upgrade the quality and efficiency of out-station African evangelists "and any other interested Christians." The teachers came in at the beginning of each month for ten hours of Bible study.[4] The class continued in 1907 "although few Christians availed themselves of the opportunity."[5]

The result of this lack of organization was the announcement of failure after failure. The CMA Annual Reports read like a series of catastrophes, the missionaries being dissatisfied with the results of their work. There was a continual opening and closing of out-stations and schools, dismissal of evangelists for misbehavior (in some years more than 15 percent) and disbandment or disciplining of church

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[1]CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 145.

[2]Ekvall, pp. 111-112.

[3]Ekvall (p. 111) claims a "regular Bible School" was not established until 1924, although the first African pastor was ordained in 1913.

[4]CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 148.

[5]CMA, Annual Report for 1907, p. 134.

members for "backsliding." Many out-schools were closed because "the people would not forsake sin."[1] When they did open schools in populous areas they were unable to attract many pupils.[2] There was never any examination of the causes of these failures other than a petulent superficial indictment of the Africans for not responding as the missionaries expected or wished. They attributed their continual failures to their evangelists marrying heathens and to "the fact that we are not popular neither [sic] with the State nor with the powerful Catholics."[3]

The causes of these failures were mainly the methods employed, the lack of organization and a complete lack of understanding of the natural ramifications of their contact with the African. Because of the continual emphasis upon ceaseless itineration central station facilities were most primitive. There was a general lack of organization, persistance and consistency in CMA methods. Not only were there no boarding schools and little other organised central station work, but the out-stations and even the central stations were constantly being opened, closed and then reopened or central stations were abandoned as a missionary residence and thus demoted to out-stations.

Not only were activities poorly organized, but they continually changed policies---beginning with emphasis on adults and finally by 1908 looking toward children; beginning by refusing medical attention and then accepting it;[4] beginning with an emphasis upon "cheapness"

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[1]See Annual Reports between 1901 and 1908. In 1908, after 23 years work, they reported less than 280 church members. 100 of these had been added in the last year. CMA, Annual Report for 1908, p. 12.

[2]See remarks on Boma school in CMA, Annual Report for 1904, p. 62.

[3]CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 145.

[4]As an experienced neighboring missionary wrote "they either 'get further light on the subject,' or die." Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 417.

and then attempting to establish themselves upon a firmer financial basis;[1] beginning with an emphasis upon "a strong and aggressive forward movement"[2] across the continent and then deciding to concentrate their efforts within a radius of 60 miles centered on the seaport.[3] The home board was still advocating this "forward" policy as late as 1902,[4] while the local Superintendent of the Mission pleaded for sufficient funds to carry on the few posts they had.[5] This lack of resources[6] and more importantly their lack of organization and persistence, finally held them to the smallest mission district in the Congo. And to further illustrate the disorganization and lack of persistence, not only was the CMA area the smallest, but they had a total missionary staff which surpossed many societies serving territories four and five times the size of Belgium. In addition the continual failures reported were not the meagre results of the first several years of a new mission. The Alliance had had missionaries in the Congo for more than twenty years by annexation. Indeed, the CMA was one of the only Protestant mission societies which feared the educational competition of the Catholics, a fear which persisted as

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[1]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 417.

[2]CMA, Annual Report for 1902, p. 77.

[3]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 417. For example, the goal had been to go across Africa "in a straight line to Tanganyika"(Ramband, p. 128) or northward to Lake Chad (CMA, Annual Report for 1899, p. 14)

[4]CMA, Annual Report for 1902, p. 77.

[5]H. D. Campbell in CMA, Annual Report for 1900, p. 92.

[6]Slade, English-Speaking Missions..., p. 97.

late as the 1930's when it was felt more time needed to be devoted to schooling for fear that the "church's rising generation would pass into the hands of the Roman Catholics..."[1]

The CMA seemed to have no idea of how to utilize existing African society for their religious ends, nor did they have any idea of the social functions of their policies. For example, the CMA even turned away children brought to the stations by African chiefs for education[2] and ignored the mounting African requests for teachers and schools with the excuse they had insufficient European and African staff even for itineration let alone the establishment of fixed schools.[3] They attributed these African requests for schools as being self-interested rather than religiously motivated and therefore ignored them. They claimed the Africans requested schools to "prevent Roman Catholics from opening their schools... [or] perhaps in the vain hope of exempting themselves from the heavy rubber tax."[4] For example, when they disbanded the local CMA church in 1901 because of alleged misbehavior of the African members, many of these dismissed Christians and evangelists began to open "mushroom schools" much to the displeasure of the CMA missionaries and the pleasure of local Africans and State officials,[5] both of whom desired schools.

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[1]Ekvall, pp. 111-112.

[2]CMA, Annual Report for 1900, p. 93.

[3]CMA, Annual Report for 1903, p. 25.

[4]Ibid., p. 153.

[5]CMA, Annual Report for 1902, p. 102. These schools soon faded probably because of lack of organization and sufficient training of their founders.

Despite the fact that after 1899 the CMA used African evangelists-teachers, they did not see this plan as part of a general policy of realizing that Africa could not be evangelized for practical reasons except by the African himself. The lack of such foresight is, of course, evidenced in their emphasis upon direct evangelization. Nor did they seem to realize the incongruous nature of their educational policy and their use of African evangelist-teachers, until more than a decade of experience. Their lack of educational facilities meant there was little provision for selecting and training such assistants and that consequently those who were sent out were of a very poor quality. It is little surprising that they frequently had to dismiss more than fifteen percent in some years.

The CMA failed to recognize these secular motives as an opportunity to be taken advantage of for their religious ends. They completely misundertstood this growing African interest in education and failed to take advantage of it as did most other missions in the Congo.

The emphasis given schools, the maintenance of standards and consistent educational organization and planning owe much to the personal leadership of individual missionaries. All the best-known schools in the Congo were the result of the sustained pioneering efforts of one or two men. Wathen is inseparably associated with W. Holman Bentley, Bolobo with George Grenfell, Yakusu with Stapleton and William Millman, Banza Manteke with Henry Richards and Charles H. Harvey, Kimpese with Thomas Lewis and Seymour E. Moon, Upoto with Kenred Smith and James A. Clark, Ikoko with Joseph Clark, Kisantu with Van Hencxthoven and WF stations with Roelens. These men survived the rigors of the African climate to spend frequently a score of years in the Congo at the same

station. In announcing Bentley's death in December 1905, after 27 years in the Congo, mainly at Wathen station, the obituary in the BMS Annual Report described him as "an organizer of an unusual order,"[1] and a BMS missionary who came to the Lower Congo a number of years later would remark "the whole Lower Congo bears the impress of Holman Bentley."[2] Indeed, the introduction of the English boarding school proto-type was inseparable from its first great organizer and defender, W. Holman Bentley, as was the system of selective recruitment of pupils later copied by neighboring missions. When Bentley died educational initiative and leadership in the Lower Congo passed to the organizers of Kimpese, the apex of the BMS and ABMU educational system.

In Group I missions, while there were outstanding individual leaders, the supporting staff, too was of exceptional quality. Jesuit priests admirably supervised the system devised by Van Hencxthoven as did Roelen's missionary staff in the eastern Congo. Group II and III missionaries tended to have men of less dynamic leadership, although there were several exceptions. But in these latter cases the methods followed by these men were not geared to building educational institutions. For example, Cambier in the Kasai was most interested in ruling stellite Christian communities, where schools played a very minor role in social change. Scheutist leader, Mgr. Van Ronslé's interests centered almost entirely upon relations with the government and not on evangelical or educational leadership. Crawford's genius in the Katanga, unlike Bentley, Roelens and others, was not that of

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[1]Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1905, p. 46.

[2]Fullerton, p. 126.

long vision and careful patient planning and institution building. He only settled down to central station life at age 24 when circumstances forced him, after he had been in the Katanga some half dozen years. While he was unmarried he migrated where the evangelical urge took him. Even after he had been at Luanza a decade and supposedly seen the advantages of education in evangelism, Crawford remained against fixed station work.[1] Crawford simply lacked consistency in operation and understanding of social change. He maintained "individual conversion was of tantamount importance rather than general uplift,"[2] yet at the same time much of his effort went into attempting to establish model villages. While he stressed the need for native evangelists to continually "press home the gosepl to a village,"[3] he failed to grasp the necessity of providing well-organized training for these young men. The "book fever" or desire to learn to read, which developed spontaneously among Africans near Luanza in 1899, simply bewildered him.[4]

Perhaps the missionary personnel situation was perceptively summed up by an early state official and explorer:

> There is another contrast which always recurs to me whenever I encounter the Fathers of the Catholic Missions in Africa, viz., the enormous difference between missionaries and missionaries, between the highly-born and educated man of great intellectual

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[1]Tilsley, pp. 475-477.

[2]Tilsley, pp. 475-477.

[3]Crawford at Luanza, XII/25/05, E.S., May 1906, p. 175.

[4]See Crawford communications, X/30 and XII/27/99, E.S., March and June 1900, pp. 73, 173.

> power, and, it may be, knowledge of the world, who, in a divine enthusiasm for the work, abondons all the prizes that the world can give, and the less than half-educated sectary to whom the mission-field abroad offers a solid advancement from uncertain and ill-paid occupations at home...[1]

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[1]Charles S. L. Bateman, The First Ascent of the Kasai (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1889), pp. 172-173. His remarks would apply to Protestant missionaries as well.

CHAPTER V

MISSION EDUCATION AND THE AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT

Educational policy and practice are as much a result of the practical limitations of environment, both social and physical, and the stage of educational development, as they are of explicit ideological aims and policy. The pressure of African reactions to western contact, particular educational opportunities, and practical circumstances helped determine educational policy and the course of educational development as much as did the stated views, intentions and previous experience of the educators.

A Belgian colonial leader, Henri Rolin, wrote in 1932 that the term native policy "presupposes the existence of a plan adopted after mature reflection and then systematically applied...."[1] It assumes that the Government directs events. Rather "there is in this belief an illusion. Our policy, the voluntary measures which we apply in the Congo, are themselves the consequence of sociological factors which dominate policy. Far from policy leading, it is itself led. Removed from policy, without it and even acting against it, are more powerful factors...[these] sociological factors are more important than policy."[2]

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[1]Henri Rolin, "Politique indigène," in M. Gottschalk (ed.), Le Congo. Compte rendu de la 14è semaine sociale universitaire de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay (Bruxelles; Lamartin, 1932), pp. 99-102.

[2]Ibid., p. 99.

That is, the initial factors of contact between cultures are to an extent independent of all prior policy intentions.

In addition, it appears that the stage of development of an educational system also limits the possibilities of policy decision with regard to quantity and the quality and the direction of expansion. Policy alternatives are limited in education at each stage of development by the practical problems associated with and a result of each particular stage. No matter what the missionaries might have wanted to do or their ideological views necessitated, they were limited by the fact that institutional building and the process of development were at the initial stage. These aspects of education in Tropical Africa, that is, the influence of the African social and physical environment, particularly in the early stage of pre-World War I period, have not received sufficient attention.

SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

African Reaction to Mission Education

The most significant feature of the African attitude toward education was its surprising shift within a generation. The earliest mission schools had great difficulty in attracting pupils, but after the turn of the century, African communities one after the other developed a tremendous enthusiasm for the secular elements---reading and writing---of mission schools. Mission stations suddenly found themselves in a position of being unable to meet the demand for education.

The Congolese reaction to mission schools passed through three well-defined stages; hostility or indifference, curiosity and interest,

and finally, wholesale enthusiasm. These three stages occurred in some areas within a decade of initial culture contact, in most areas within a generation. One of the most interesting factors is that missionaries all over the Congo from Boma to Baudouinville report the same phenomena in the same three stages.

1. Initial Hostility and Indifference

The initial African response was indifference on the part of children and open hostility from the adult community. Villagers usually fled on sight of the approaching missionary. Those villages in which people did not run usually refused to let children go with the missionary to his station. Neither the children nor the adults saw any value in education. In those cases where the children were willing to go to the mission station, both they and their parents or chief demanded payment. Placing no value on education, schooling, like clearing land or digging wells, was work for which they should be paid.

The development of the schools at Leopoldville was typical of this initial stage, although similar reports came from all over the Congo. "At first people could not understand our wanting boys to teach, and were suspicious,"[1] Grenfell reported in 1883. Several months earlier his neighbor, Dr. Sims of the LIM, wrote; "They entirely disbelieve that we have come for the purposes we tell them and will not give us boys for school....They thoroughly ridicule

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[1]Grenfell at Leopoldville, XII/10/83, quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 156.

and score in an amusing but sad way the idea of school and teaching."[1]

Four years later (1887) Bentley wrote of the pupils striking at the BMS Leopoldville station primary school.

> ...one morning the scholars struck for pay. They said that they were not going to work unless they were paid for it. We asked them what work they meant. 'School, we are not coming to school any more unless you pay us!' We told them that we certainly should not pay any one to come to school; we thought that it was but a passing whim, and that soon they would continue to come to us. On inquiring further as to the obstinate refusal to learn, they told us that they would not be outwitted by us. We were paid to teach them, and would get a large bonus per head as well if we could report a large school; there was no reason why they should not share the bonus with us; it was given us for the purpose, and we were defrauding them....We tried for several days to revive the school, but greedy old Nchulu [the local chief] had the idea fixed in his head, and there was no moving him. So the school which had given us such hopes was destroyed.[2]

Demands for payment at both the BMS and ABMU schools at Leopoldville continued in 1888 and 1889.[3] This tended to limit education to station boarding schools for ex-slaves. It was not until 1902 that missionaries at Leopoldville begin to report "a growing desire to read and write...."[4]

Similar comments came from missionaries throughout the Congo. After almost a decade of operation, the first Protestant school,

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[1]Dr. Aaron Sims at Leopoldville, R.B., February 1884, p. 20.

[2]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 142.

[3]Rev. John G. Brown to Baynes from Leopoldville, IV/21/88, M.H., September 1888, p. 347; Dr. Aaron Sims, IV/25/89, B.M.M., December 1889, p. 462.

[4]Alfred Stonelake at Leopoldville in Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1902, p. 89.

that at Palabala, was still reporting that "parents do not appreciate education"[1] and its neighbor, Mukimvika (just over the border in Portuguese Angola) complained "that attendance is very irregular owing to a lack of interest in education. The chiefs see no need for it, and the parents in some cases even threaten the children if they come to school without receiving payment...."[2] In the 1880's and 1890's all over the Congo Protestant[3] missionaries report pupils striking for pay.[4]

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[1]Rev. Joseph Clark at Palabala, X/12/86, B.M.M., January 1887, p. 26.

[2]ABMU Annual Report for 1900, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 478.

[3]There are less such reports from Catholic missions because they made it a regular policy to pay children to keep them on the station. The Protestants felt such measures unethical, but in practice did pay some.

[4]"The desire for education at present is so slight that a father would rather see his son grow up as ignorant as himself than pay anything towards supporting him at school." Rev. J.S. Hartland to Baynes from San Salvador, VI/12/81, M.H., November 1881, p. 443.

"The school work continues to be a sore point. The minds of the people are not easily imbued with the idea that schooling is an advantage...." Rev. Theodore Hoste at Lukunga, ABMU Annual Report for 1895, B.M.M., July 1896, p. 382.

"The African sees no advantage in learning to read and write." Father De Clerq, Provincial at Kangu, V/15/1900, Missions en Chine et au Congo, September 1900, pp. 507-508.

"Education is of no value in the eyes of these people..." Mr. Eddie at Wangata station in 1889 quoted in Guiness, The New World of Central Africa, p. 380.

"In the schools the boys are willing to learn though most of the parents cannot see why they should not be paid for sending them to school." Bongandanga reporting in R.B., June 1891, p. 253.

"I called them [local chiefs] together in our own village, and told them what I wanted....They first wanted to know how much the children

2. Developing African Curiosity

The second stage began rather abruptly at the turn of the century. This second stage was one of mounting African interest in education. The problem now was not to interest people in schooling, but rather how to instruct the great numbers who came to the mission station or who requested teachers and books. The great curiosity was for reading and writing, but not especially religion. "If the natives

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would receive as wages if they would come." Rev. E.E. Faris at Bolenge, undated, M.I., April 1900, p. 86.

"Neither children nor parents know the value of an education. Incentives were entirely lacking...." H. Smith, Fifty Years in Congo, p. 17.

"When the school work [at Bopoto] had been carried on for four or five months [in 1890] the school 'struck' and refused to come again without pay." Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 273. See also M.H., August 1891, p. 320.

"...often we are sad at heart at the apathy and cool indifference we meet with which alas is begotten of ignorance." Crawford writing in 1892 quoted in Arnot, Bihe and Garenganze, 1893, p. 135.

"...the children of these parts have not yet come to like school, and their parents are only too glad to take them to help in field work and other things." Mrs. Grace Crawford at Luanza, I/13/04, E.S., May 1904, p. 176.

"They [African girls in new school] appeared to be much interested and came in for the next few days some three or four hours before school-time, and were exceedingly enthusiastic. It was but fictitious fervour, however, for their mothers arrived before the end of the first week to know what wages the girls would receive. Finding that nothing would be paid, they forbade the girls to come." Stapleton at Yakusu, BMS Annual Report for 1898, M.H., May 1899, p. 266.

See similar comments by WF G. De Vulder, Missions des PB, mai 1905, p. 132; ABMU Annual Report for 1890, 1892, 1893, 1901, B.M.M., July 1891, p. 321, July 1893, p. 465, July 1894, p. 352, July 1902, p. 471; M.H., August 1887, pp. 283-284, BMS Annual Report for 1897, May 1898, p. 248; M.I., December 1899, p. 356; April 1900, p. 86; Missions belges, mai 1902, p. 197; Bentley Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 337; Miss., March 1894, pp. 100, 102.

show little enthusiasm for praying, they are crazy to learn to read and write."[1] Station after station announced this growing desire to read and write and, what is startling for missionary reporting, that the African did not want to learn religion. Children came now voluntarily to the mission station, although still frequently against the wishes of their elders.

Between 1898 and 1903 missionaries in all regions of the Congo report a shift in African reactions to mission schools. The first reports of this second stage came in 1898 from the WF in the eastern Congo and the CBM missionaries on the Middle Congo. Roelens wrote "our schools go well. Everywhere children are coming in large numbers to learn to read. At the same time they receive religious instruction... but their main wish is...des lettres."[2] Missionaries at Lulunga reported the same year that "we are experiencing quite a thirst for learning, especially among the men and boys."[3] CBM missionaries continued to report the growing African interest in education. "Perhaps nothing becomes more marked, as the days go by, then the wholesome desire on the part of the natives to acquire knowledge; to be able to read or write is a goal which many are striving to reach."[4]

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[1]Scheutist Father A. Huymans, X/2/04 from Lusambo, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, novembre 1904, p. 333.

[2]Roelens at Baudoinville, I/9/98, Missions d'Afrique des PB, juillet 1898, p. 196.

[3]R.B., May 1898, p. 229.

[4]Harris at Ikau, CBM Annual Report for 1899, R.B., January-February 1900, p. 11. Mr. Lower at Ikau reported in a letter of V/14/00 that "the desire for knowledge---or at least for reading---is so great with some that they steal the Gospels and other books..." R.B., October 1900, p. 402. John H. Harris at Baringa wrote VII/15/03 that "once the native children master the elements of reading and writing they stick to it with surprising persistency." R.B., October 1903 supplement, p. v. See similar comments from CBM missionaries in R.B., January-February 1901, p. 40; March 1901, p. 73.

Beginning about 1898 and increasingly after 1901 Lower Congo missionaries report a rising African demand for education. Rev. Thomas Hill at Lukunga wrote in 1899 that "education is becoming one of the essential things that the natives, both Christian and heathen, are thinking they must have. We have had more applications to open schools in the outlying districts than we can supply teachers for them."[1] Beginning in 1900 the CMA report local chiefs asking for teachers.[2] In 1901 the Jesuits, BMS, and ABMU in the Lower Congo, BMS missionaries on the Upper River and missionaries in the Kasai report great changes.[3] The Jesuits found "a great eagerness on the part of the Africans to learn to read"[4] and that "villagers now begin to understand the advantages of education, even for women."[5] Veteran missionary Peder Frederickson of the ABMU wrote from Kifwa[6] that "we have been very much encouraged in our school work. The people seem to have more desire to learn to read." Nearby Wathen found

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[1] B.M.M., September 1899, p. 494. See similar comments Kifwa and Lukunga in Annual Reports for 1898 and 1900, B.M.M., July 1899, p. 380; July 1901, p. 474.

[2] CMA, Annual Report for 1900, p. 93.

[3] Both Wathen and Monsembe report 1901 as a "year of great change." BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, pp. 231-243.

[4] Jesuit missionary Hanquet lecture reported in Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, novembre 1901, p. 270. Similar statements from Jesuit missionaries in Missions belges, octobre 1902, p. 359; juillet 1903, p. 246; août 1903, p. 279; novembre 1903, p. 419.

[5] Sister Superior at Kisantu, VI/8/02, Missions belges, octobre 1902, p. 362.

[6] ABMU Annual Report for 1902, B.M.M., July 1903, p. 513.

many children were now willing to stay at the mission "for the sake of learning to read and write,"[1] for these were "the first attractions."[2] 1901 was also the beginning of "greatly increased interest in the schools"[3] in the Kasai. Miss L. M. Thomas described the change at the APCM Luebo and Ibanj stations as "a great awakening in the educational work....Both old and young, men and women are anxious to learn to read."[4] The neighboring Scheutists found "everybody here is mad with a desire to know how to read and write...."[5]

Beginning in 1901 and 1902 missionaries on the Upper Congo reported "the children...are very anxious to read...."[6] It soon became described as "an unbelievable desire."[7] "...all the young people of the mission and even the majority of the married people, practice reading all the time which is not occupied with manual labor. There is among them a zest which is happy to observe."[8]

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[1]Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 65.

[2]Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1902, p. 68.

[3]Miss., March 1902, p. 283.

[4]Kassai Herald, April 1903, p. 20.

[5]Scheutist Father Charles Seghers at Hemptinne-St-Benoît, II/1/02, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques on Congo, juin 1903, p. 167.

[6]Grenfell to A.H. Baynes from Yalemba, XI/15/02, quoted in Johnston, I, p. 328. See similar comment by Father Gabriel Grison at nearby Stanley-Falls, IV/21/06, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, août 1906, p. 114.

[7]Father Philippe Kohl at Romée, Regne du Coeur de Jésus, février 1907, p. 19.

[8]Father L. Massman, undated, from Basoko, Regne du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, décembre 1908, pp. 174-175.

In 1903 FCMS missionaries in the Middle Congo also reported that the Africans "at last...are beginning to value the ability to read and write...."[1] By 1905 even the Middle Congo Scheutists at Nouvelle-Anvers were conceding the desire of Africans for secular education. Their "ardor" for learning to read and write was "without parallel. Old married men who never in their life penetrated into a school, come to buy a book, and struggled with the help of their children, to distinguish between letters sufficiently to spell a word."[2]

> ...the Congolese generally have a great desire to learn... Each wants to start to be able to read and write.... This zeal to learn is not limited only to youth. At Nouvelle Anvers the soldiers and workers of the State in hundreds have manifested in the most sincere manner their intense desire to learn....Many don't want to stop with just reading and writing in the maternal language, but want to learn arithmetic and French.[3]

Thus, by 1903 missionaries from all areas of the Congo reported a shift in African attitudes at least of the children from indifference to curiosity.

3. African Enthusiasm for Education

In some geographic areas, although not all, this second stage developed into a third, a sort of "educational craze." Enthusiasm for schools mounted suddenly to the point that local mission stations were beseiged with requests for

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[1]FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 412.

[2]Scheut Father H. De Clercq at Nouvelle-Anvers, VIII/16/05, Missions en Chine et au Congo, février 1906, p. 25.

[3]Scheut Father J. Van Houtte, II/4/1907, from Nouvelle Anvers, ibid., septembre 1907, p. 212.

teachers and books. Deputations from African villages in the vicinity arrived one after the other requesting even begging for teachers, far-outstripping the mission's capacity to train and supply teachers or to produce reading materials. For example, the African interest in education in the Kasai increased so rapidly after 1901 that by 1905 APCM missionaries described it as a "craze for learning" which "is spreading like 'prairie fire'."[1] This "eagerness for learning" was such "that some of the pupils walk 100 and 200 miles to attend school...and they return again and yet again."[2]

The British consul visiting Luebo in 1908 is quoted as saying:

> ...the Lulua and Baluba...seem to be animated with a passionate desire to learn to read and write. Everywhere I found schools crowded during the work hours, and I must have received a score of petitions during my tour from the smaller villages, asking that I would give them a letter to the Mission in order that they, too, might obtain a teacher. Under these circumstances it was not surprising to learn that the Mission schools and printing press were unable to keep pace with the demand.[3]

By 1908 missionaries at Bolenge on the Middle Congo were labeling the interest in schools "a tremendous hunger, a very passion for knowledge."[4] Finally, as far distant as the Katanga, Crawford in

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[1]Kassai Herald, October 1905, p. 40. See also Miss., September 1904, p. 437; December 1906, p. 546.

[2]Kassai Herald, October 1905, p. 40. Miss Thomas wrote from Luebo (Miss., August 1905, p. 385) that "We have had, and even now are having, people coming to Luebo from distant villages asking and even begging for a school in their villages."

[3]W.T. Thesinger on tour in the Kasai area, quoted in Bedinger, p. 60.

[4]Hensey, My Children of the Forest, p. 118. See also comments in M.I., April 1906, p. 126---"Where formerly the way was blocked by the most formidable of all obstacles, native indifference, now the doors are wide open...."and December 1905, p. 525.

1907 reported that Africans were "begging for schools."[1]

While the feverish enthusiasm tended to abate itself, for various reasons, the desire for reading and writing and the realization of the value of education continued throughout the Congo.[2] Missionaries and European officials from quite separate parts of the Congo reported they knew of Africans who could not attend formal schools, but who nonetheless taught themselves to read and write. A former colonial agent at Boma spoke of a Batetela there who in the evenings in 1900 by the light of a candle taught himself English and Portuguese.[3] Similar self-study tales are reported in 1905 and 1907 by missionaries in the Katanga[4] and the Middle Congo.[5]

The BMS station at Yakusu offers a good illustration of these changes in African attitudes over time. Since the station was established later (1895), the three stages of African reaction are telescoped into a decade. While a school was opened soon after the post was established, for the first five or six years it operated

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[1]Tilsley, p. 483.

[2]For representative statements see Scheut Father O. Booghemans from Merode-Salvador, XI/20/07, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1908, p. 72; Rev. H. S. Gammon of CBM in G.C.R., 1906, p. 34, and Richards at Banza Manteke in Annual Report of the ABMU for 1907, p. 167.

[3]Léon Lotar in Le Noir Congolais vu par nos écrivains (Bruxelles: Institut royal colonial belge, 1953), p. 172.

[4]Dan Crawford at Luanza, XII/25/05, E.S., May 1906, p. 176.

[5]Scheut Father J. Van Houtte at Nouvelle-Anvers, II/4/07, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1907, p. 213.

sporadically due to the lack of personnel, continual sickness of the missionaries, lack of financial resources for construction, other demands on missionary time, difficulties of language and above all problems in attracting pupils.[1] The first reports of mounting African interest do not come until the turn of the century.[2] By late 1902 the station, however is reporting the beginning of "a great educational awakening." Books and teachers are being called for "at an alarming rate."[3] "Town after town has sent up its deputation for a teacher, and now that all our available [school] lads are out at work they still keep on appealing for more."[4] While missionaries were on itineration: "People ran along the banks, or came out in canoes, or crowded round us in the towns where we stopped, and the burden of their inquiry was: 'Have you books for us?' That it was no idle enquiry is proved by the fact that we sold hundreds of books the last fortnight...all that the press at Bolobo could supply being eagerly seized."[5] 1904 was the peak year of this enthusiasm for education as expressed in requests for books and teachers. "Lads and lassies have paddled 80 miles to beg a primer, or to buy an exercise book or pencil....Obdurate chiefs,

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[1]Smith, Yakusu, p. 190.

[2]Smith, Yakusu, p. 211.

[3]Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1902, p. 76.

[4]Stapleton, in BMS Annual Report for 1904 quoted in Smith, Yakusu, p. 232.

[5]Kempton writing in 1904 quoted in Smith, Yakusu, p. 238.

after refusing their young folk a teacher, have been up to beseech for a lad of some sort in order that they might free themselves from the wearying importunity."[1] The missionaries found that Africans in the villages were willing to build school houses at their own expense and that young people volunteered to serve as assistant teachers without salary.[2] The mission contributed only the rough doors and a table, articles beyond the skill of the villagers to make.[3] This "thirst for the book," as it was described, continued. Yakusu missionaries called 1905 the year of the "Out-School Movement."[4] Village schools were established all along the river banks and in the forest villages.

But a reverse reaction was beginning to develop. African interest in areas began to wane. Expansion had been so rapid the missionaries were not able properly to inspect and supervise the village schools. Village teachers gave up because of frequent trouble with the local populace. School buildings were not maintained and consequently deteriorated. Some villages tired of school expenses. The hordes attending village schools meant that "the noise and bustle were such as to make the task of the teacher extremely difficult." Even in the midst of the African enthusiasm, missionaries were aware that such "a

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[1]Stapleton in Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1904, p. 102.

[2]Stapleton in Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1904, p. 102; Grenfell, X/1/04 after visit to Yakusu quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 528.

[3]Smith, Yakusu, pp. 232, 237; Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1905, p. 49.

[4]Smith, Yakusu, p. 182.

feverish high pressure" could not be maintained. The "more easily excited ones are dropping off, leaving the teachers with something like manageable numbers. The definitely religious character of all the school-books and teaching, when thoroughly grasped, may also scare off some of the viciously inclined."[1]

Reasons for African Reaction

Evidence suggests that these shifts in attitude are due to three major socio-economic factors; a desire on the part of youth to break away from the tight restraints of conservative tribal society, a growing awareness of the relation between education and economic gain and the mystical aura surrounding books and western learning.

The tightly-organized discipline and tribal cohesion began to break down under Western contact. The mission supplied a focal point of escape for youth from the stringent tribal sanctions, as well as a necessary way-stop for obtaining skills on the route to the growing "westernized" towns. The mission station became both a way to escape from the traditional agricultural village and a place to first discover the material advantages and objects and to learn the skills brought by the Europeans.

1. Gulf Between Generations

One of the few statements by an African on the subject was written in 1902 by one of the first converts to Catholicism, then a catechist for the Redemptorists in the Matadi area.

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[1] Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1904, p. 103. For similar comments see Smith, Yakusu, p. 135; M.H., December 1905, p. 588; April 1908, p. 111.

> ....Previously, before the arrival of the Whites, the chiefs were quite content. But then the young men were said to suffer much because of the authority of the chiefs had to be carefully respected in all kinds of things good as well as bad. The submissive people were entirely at the service of their chiefs....But after the White had arrived in the country, people jumped with joy because the Whites curbed the authority of the local chiefs.[1]

Despite apparent exaggerations of the joy with which Europeans were greeted, this essay does indicate a certain gulf between the generations and a typical, universal youthful desire for independence from adult supervision and authority. Missionaries also reported continued adult hostility and youthful interest. Banza Manteka, for example, reported that the school boys "will endure almost any hardship in the way of extra work or shortened rations, rather than be sent [back] to their towns...."[2]

A growing cleavage between generations is also illustrated by the fact that the second and third stages of African reaction did not mean a complete shift on the part of the adult generation from indifference and hostility to curious interest and later enthusiasm. Indeed, adult opposition to mission schools continued in almost all areas throughout the CIS period. This opposition was shown in a number of ways---by spreading tales that Christians and school children would harm others; by creating social difficulties, and by active physical violence against Christians and children who attended schools.

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[1]Translation of an autobiographical essay by Philippe Kinkela dated V/3/02 at Matadi, but forwarded to the journal by Father Isodore Goedleven, Redemptorist, only in January 1908. Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1908, p. 27.

[2]Dr. W.H. Leslie in ABMU Annual Report for 1900, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 472.

Perhaps the most effective opposition was that which preyed upon the traditional Congolese belief in superstitions. Witchdoctors and older people spread a number of stories geared to frighten the young people away from the mission schools. It was said opening books caused sickness and death as did baptism or wearing a religious medal,[1] or that missionaries beat children.[2] It was said Christians and children who went to the mission became possessed by evil spirits and as sorcerers would injure their relations and fellow villagers.[3] A new and promising out-school near Banza Manteke became empty because "the old chief, who was suffering from double cataract, had sent a long distance for a famous witch doctor to discover the cause of his failing sight. After a mysterious investigation it was announced that the two most promising boys in the school were guilty of this felony; all children were forbidden to attend the school."[4] Frederickson at Kinjila reported that one of the first three out-schools had to be

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[1]Joseph Clark at Ikoko, B.M.M., Jul 1901, p. 479; Father Senden at St-Trudon VIII/9/99, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, septembre 1899, p. 223; Mgr. Roelens, "Rapport sur la Haut-Congo pour 1903-04," Missions des PB, octobre 1904, p. 291; Roelens in Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1908, p. 25; Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, I, p. 74; Scheutist Omer Beel at Kinduti, VII/9/04, Lower Congo, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, octobre 1904, p. 302; Peder Frederickson at Kifwa, B.M.M., octobre 1897, p. 560.

[2]Diary of Gustav Haupt at Bongandanga, I/10/93, R.B., June 1893, p. 308; Scheutist Omer Beel from Kinduti, Lower Congo, VII/9/04, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, octobre 1904, p. 302.

[3]Wathen in BMS Annual Report for 1896, M.H., May 1897, p. 267.

[4]Dr. Leslie at Banza Manteke in Annual Report of the ABMU for 1904, p. 309.

closed because "fourteen days after the school commenced, the chief of the village got into some trouble and was killed. The blame was at once put on the white man and his house [the new village school] which had just been erected in their village, and the school was stopped."[1] The rumors also spread that the missionaries wanted children so as to enslave them as soldiers, workers or servants and to send them far away from their natal village, indeed even to Europe.[2] This caused many pupils, even the most assiduous, to be withdrawn and taken away by their parents. Frequently the newly-emancipated African found that any excelling or rising above the tribal average branded him as a witch or bad spirit, thereby leading to all kinds of difficulties and discrimination. "A character for meanness, refusing to share one's belongings with anyone who may ask for them, or success in trade and growing wealth, unusual skill as a craftsman, any ability above the ordinary, surely makes a man a witch in the eyes of his fellows."[3]

Frequenting the mission station or becoming a Christian created certain social difficulties for the individual African. "In many ways it is both inconvenient and dangerous for a man to become a Christian; he must fall foul of country custom, and trouble will

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[1]ABMU Annual Report for 1892, B.M.M., July 1893, p. 343.

[2]Scheutist Father Senden at St.-Trudon, VIII/9/99, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, septembre 1899, p. 223; Father N. DeCleene in Mayumbe area, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mai 1904, p. 107; WF Joseph Lenoir, "Notre Ecole au Kivu," Missions des PB, septembre 1908, pp. 259-260.

[3]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 391.

come."[1] In some areas the family promptly disowned anyone who became a Christian.[2]

In some parts of the Congo adult opposition took the form of active physical opposition, if not physical violence. "The heathen hate the Christians with perfect hatred, and would take their lives if they could. Many have suffered death and some banishment..."[3] In the Lower Congo Africans in the neighborhood of Wathen, for example, refused at one time to sell food to the station for its large boarding school. The neighboring Africans were superstitious of the school and so passed the word to stop the food supply.[4] The Jesuits at the turn of the century reported that in the Lemfu area chiefs were becoming increasingly hostile and were refusing food to the orphans at the station, children in fermes-chapelles and Christians.[5] In the Kasai the Bakuba people who attended the nearby mission school were threatened. "The once friendly attitude of the earlier Lukenga [King of the Bakuba] was replaced by open hostility. The Lukenga could not drive the missionaries from his neighborhood but he could, and did, harrass and punish his subjects who were friendly to them or who showed interest

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[1]Bentley at Wathen, VIII/29/95, M.H., January 1896, p. 16. See similar comments in Kassai Herald, October 1905, p. 40 and Henry Richards at Banza Manteke in ABMU Annual Report for 1895, B.M.M., July 1896, p. 377.

[2]Hensey, My Children of the Forest, p. 160.

[3]Henry Richards at Banza Manteke, IV/24/89, B.M.M., August 1889, p. 347.

[4]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 337; Bentley to Baynes II/10/93 from Wathen, M.H., March 1893, p. 78; October 1904, p. 480.

[5]Laveille, p. 359, also mentioned by Father de Vos, Missions belges, mars 1909, p. 114.

in the gospel."[1] Bentley at Wathen spoke of a neighboring chief who first had asked for a teacher but "when anyone comes to be taught and shows any persistence, he drops a few hints that suffice to fill the man with fear, and all that our teacher knows is that the man does not come any more."[2] Cathechists in the Bolobo area were beaten[3] and at Kifwa children were forcible removed from village schools, schoolbooks torn up and teachers tied up.[4] Schoolhouses and houses of catechists were torn down or housing refused to them.[5] While in the Lower Congo catechists and mission children were poisoned.[6]

The plight of girls was especially acute. Despite the fact that missions provided less educational opportunities for girls, this lag was only partly due to the policy of the missionaries themselves. Partly, it reflected the existing African social structure and value system.

First, in all tribes daughters were a marketable asset; they represented wealth. Fathers or maternal uncles were reluctant to let them go to the mission for fear that they would remain there and not

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[1]Wharton, p. 78.

[2]Bentley to Baynes from Wathen, VIII/29/95, M.H., January 1896, p. 12.

[3]BMS Annual Report for 1898, M.H., May 1899, p. 257.

[4]Peder Fredrickson at Kifwa, undated, B.M.M., February 1906, p. 64.

[5]Stapleton's report for 1904 quoted in Smith, Yakusu, p. 237.

[6]Laveille, p. 359; Father Swannet, IX/9/06; Father de Vos, undated, and Father Butaye, III/14/06, Missions belges, février 1907, p. 51; mars 1909, p. 114 and juin 1906, p. 230.

marry the man who had already paid the bride price. "They feared the girls coming to the white man's school might interfere with these matrimonial arrangements and as these girls constituted their investments, nothing must interfere."[1] Indeed, many Congolese girls had already been promised long before they reached their teens.[2] Thus, missions were obliged in some cases to pay large indemnities to the families in order to have girls stay on the mission station. The Jesuits, for example, helped their young Christian converts pay the bride price, but only on the condition that the bride-to-be consent to spend time on the mission station in training with the Sisters.[3] This payment became a major source of girls in Jesuit mission station schools.[4] On the other hand, upset because Christian African girls refused to go through with pre-arranged marriages or to marry polygamists, rumors spread that girls became barren if they went to the mission station.[5] Lukunga station missionaries spoke of opening a new out-school, but after a few weeks several of the pupils left. The African teacher reported that; "One, a girl about 12 years old, was

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[1]Dye, p. 72. See similar comments in Laveille, p. 185.

[2]Sister Superior. Ignatia de la Croix, at Kisantu, X/29/1904, Missions belges, février 1905, pp. 84-85.

[3]Sister Superior Ignatia de la Croix to Rev. Mother General at Namur, from Ndembo, X/22/99, Missions belges, avril 1900, p. 138. As late as 1947 an insert in a Catholic mission publication concerning "practical ways to aid our mission in the Congo" included an item for "the repurchase of a young pagan girl---500 francs." See, Au Service du Congo.

[4]Missions belges, février 1899, p. 67; mars 1899, p. 117; avril 1900 p. 138; novembre 1902, p. 413.

[5]Wathen reporting in BMS Annual Report for 1896, M.H., May 1897, p. 267; Smith, Yakusu, p. 243.

taken away by her mother, who said that if she went to school she would get 'saved,' and then no man would marry her. The other, a girl, was taken away by her mother, who said that when people were 'saved' they had to be baptized, and when under the water ate the spirits of others, and if converted she would kill the whole family."[1]

Second, women did most of the agricultural work necessary to subsistence. Young girls were expected to help their mothers with such household and agricultural work.[2] Without this labor the family would not eat. Third, marriage took place at a young age (14 appears typical) so that there was only a short period of time for education before Congolese girls had adult responsibilities.[3]

The African women were also loathe to come themselves or to let their daughters go to the station even on a daily basis mainly because of mistrust and superstition.[4] It was also true that many

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[1]Mrs. B. Chaflin at Lukunga, XI/28/92, B.M.M., March 1893, p. 84.

[2]ABMU Annual Report for 1891, B.M.M., July 1892, p. 314.

[3]Sister Mélanie des Anges at Kimwenza to Rev. Mother General at Namur, VII/15/00, Mission belges, novembre 1900, pp. 416-418.

[4]See, for example, Scheutist Father DeClerq, Provincial at Kangu, V/15/00, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1900, p. 50; Father Van Leuven, undated, Missions en Chine et au Congo, octobre 1902, p. 217; Annual Report for 1891, B.M.M., juillet 1892, p. 315; Missions belges, février 1902, p. 64; Rev. Walter H. Stapleton from Yakusu, BMS Annual Report for 1898, M.H., May 1899, p. 266; Mrs. A. Baur of SMS, G.C.R., 1907, p. 131. The APCM in the Kasai, for example, reported that they had no difficulty in getting girls to come to the station boarding school including daughters of chiefs. Rev. M. Marten, G.C.R., 1907, p. 132.

African girls did not like the regulated semi-military life of the mission station and the numerous moral restrictions.[1] It is probably true to say that most of the African women and girls who came voluntarily to mission stations came for protection rather than any other motive. As the missionary gained the confidence of the neighboring peoples, the reaction reported by Mrs. Stapleton at Yakusu became typical. "...some of the very women who were loudest in warning the girls to have nothing to do with these queer marks the white woman made on the blackboard are now actually learning to read and write themselves."[2]

While the strategy of opposition varied, missionaries in all regions continued to report adult opposition. While in certain areas there appeared to be some decrease in opposition,[3] it by no means ceased during the CIS period. The reasons for the continued adult opposition are not hard to determine. Vested interests such as witch doctors and others professionally and economically connected with supernatural ideas bitterly resented missionary competition. Also missionary teachings conflicted with many traditional practices and values such as polygamy and domestic slavery. Throughout the Congo

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[1]Sister Mélanie des Anges at Nlemfu, VI/12/05, Missions belges, octobre 1905, p. 403.

[2]Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1902, p. 72. For similar comments see Missions belges, août 1902, p. 299.

[3]Missionaries in some areas of the Lower Congo reported African chiefs and well-to-do traders did begin sending children voluntarily, a move which soon snowballed with other nearby chiefs following suit. (see Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 337 and Missions belges, juin 1902, p. 235 and avril 1903, p. 151) The Scheutist Superior in the Mayumbe area also reported some cooperation from African chiefs (Father N. DeCleene, I/8/00 from Kangu, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, avril 1900, p. 98, but these were exceptions to the rule.

came reports that African chiefs were jealous and suspicious of missionary political influence. Arnot wrote from the Katanga in 1893 that everywhere missionaries "gladly took advantage of the protection and patronage" of African chiefs, but missionaries frequently did not realize the closeness with which their activities were scrutinized.

> The missionary, however, was everywhere jealously watched by these despotic kings, who were naturally afraid lest any power or influence should arise in their countries which they might be unable to control. During my stay both in the Barotse and Garenganze empires I was surprised to find how cunningly my steps were dogged, all my visitors interviewed, and anything like what might appear to be a following from amongst the natives carefully checked.[1]

A similar statement comes from the Mayumbe area in which missionaries reported that local people objected strenously to sending children to the mission station because they "came back changed" and when they did come back the missionary insisted that more be sent. "When they become Christians they become white man's men. When priests come to the village, the chiefs complained that they lost authority and that the priest took over. When girls received religious instruction they refused to marry polygamists such as the old chief."[2] In the Eastern Congo, similarly it was said that as soon as one was instructed by the missionaries "the White would come and mix in all their affairs and that [the African] would no longer enjoy freedom."[3] Or from the Upper Congo

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[1]Undated note from F. S. Arnot's diary, E.S., February 1894, p. 48.

[2]Father Van Leuven in Mayumbe area, X/22/01, Missions en Chine et au Congo, avril 1902, pp. 82-83.

[3]Roelens, "Rapport sur la Haut-Congo pour 1903-04," Missions des PB, octobre 1904, p. 291.

area where missionaries reported:

> ...the chiefs are scarcely favorable to our work of evangelization; they sense as if by instinct that if we are successful it will mark the end of their despotic domination. They tolerate us because they cannot do otherwise...What they especially want is that we stay at the mission...and teach the children to read and write, but nothing more. They wouldn't ask for better. But they do not want us to speak of God, of Christ and especially of monogamy.[1]

Similar remarks came from missionaries in the Lower Congo. "Though friendly at first, they[African medicine men and chiefs] at length began to watch the missionaries with jealousy and suspicion."[2]

Despite the general changes in attitude of children and youth in the period from 1878 to 1908, the adult generation continued to view the missionaries with suspicion and distrust and to refuse to let their children attend mission schools for fear they would be bewitched or enslaved or would return to the village and refuse to accept the old ways.[3] Yet youth persisted in going to the stations. "Neither persuasion nor threats will keep the young folk away from the village schools. On every hand little school buildings are being reared by the scholars at their own expense."[4]

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[1]Prefect Apostolic Léon Derikx at Gumbari, VII/30/05, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1906, p. 83.

[2]Herbert Probert, Life and Scenes in Congo (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1889), pp. 96-97.

[3]See, for example, Rev. Walter H. Stapleton at Yakusu to Baynes, undated, M.H., January 1903, pp. 36-37; Smith, Yakusu, p. 80; Scheutist Fathers Joseph Savels to Father Superior, undated, from Hemptinne-St-Benoît and A. Verheyen, XII/1/08, from Mayunbe area, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mai 1904, p. 103 and mars 1909, p. 69.

[4]Smith, Yakusu, p. 231.

2. Economic Advantages of Education

The continual concern of the State, the railway company and trading firms for obtaining clerks and artisans was a strong influence in increasing African interest in education. Congolese began to see a relation between certain learned skills, such as reading, writing and manual arts, and the ability to gain the much coveted new objects of European origin. In the Lower Congo local Congolese admired the status of Africans from the West Coast and in the Eastern Congo, the Arabs. In the Lower Congo young men at Wathen, for example, were "conscious of the immense advantages of education, as seen in the position and pay of the African foremen, clerks, etc., who have been over them in their work; they, too, are anxious to learn and to qualify for such posts."[1] Most of these better positions were held by Africans from the West Coast, although a few were former Wathen pupils. Grenfell on a trip to the Eastern Congo pointed out the African said,"'The Arab reads, the white man reads,' and they feel they too must learn to read if they are to escape the disadvantages of their present position."[2]

This realization on the part of the African of the economic value of education occurred almost within a generation. The railroad builder, Colonel Albert Thys, found as early as 1888 that Africans were

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[1]Bentley on Wathen, BMS Annual Report for 1897, M.H., May 1898, p. 246.

[2]Grenfell to Baynes from Yalemba, XI/15/02, quoted in Johnston, I, p. 328.

beginning to develop pressing material needs and were willing to work to satisfy them,[1] but few came forward at this time for employment. By 1890 the railway company, the Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Congo, had some 170 Europeans and 2,000 Africans, mainly from Accra and Sierra Leone.[2] But local Congolese were quickly attracted and before the railroad was half finished thousands of Africans came to offer their services to replace foreign workers. "It was sufficient that they had seen others at work on the railway in order that they had wanted European objects. They understood that the only way to obtain such objects for themselves was to work. From then on the local African started to work on the railway."[3] Now they sought employment on the railway as telephone men, engineering assistants and laborers. Others became printers and book binders, while still others were independent carpenters, tailors and dressmakers, who purchased their own machines, tools and materials. By 1899 Lukunga, for example, attributed the shift in attitude or "thirst for education" to the fact that: "The natives from this district who have been and are working on the railroad have seen that the natives from the west coast, who are educated, get better positions and more pay...."[4]

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[1]Thys, Au Congo et au Kasai (Bruxelles: Weissenbruch, 1888), p. 35.

[2]Slade, King Leopold's Congo, p. 75.

[3]Pierre Verhaegen, advocat, Cour d'appel of Ghent, "Quelques mots sur la civilisation des nègres dans le Bas-Congo,: Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juin 1899, p. 57.

[4]Thomas Hill at Lukunga, undated, B.M.M., September 1899, p. 494.

The pioneer missionary, Henry Richards, writing in 1909 after 25 years in the Lower Congo remarked on the differences between the 1880's and the first decade of the 20th century. Formerly the Bakongo "were satisfied with their huts, dirt and fetishes; now they are hungry for homes, clothes and other things used by civilized people and willing to work to get them."[1]

3. Books a "Fetish"

There was a close correlation between the arrival of the first books in the local language at a mission school and the development of this enthusiasm for education.[2] Usually associated at each station which experienced rising interest in education was what was described as "book fever,"[3] or an "insatiable appetite for reading,"[4] or an "increased hunger for books."[5] The huge production of religious literature by Protestant presses was all paid for by Africans---in some cases they gave as much as six weeks wages for the Four Gospels[6] or eagerly bought torn and used books at near the original price.[7]

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[1] Ibid., September 1909, p. 318.

[2] See, for example, H.P. Hawkins and L.M. Thomas, Miss., January 1904, p. 23 and August 1905, p. 385; M.H., December 1904, p. 592; May 1902, p. 243; May 1900, p. 263; May 1904, p. 240; R.B., January 1905, p. 3; Fullerton, p. 177; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1907, p. 167.

[3] Crawford at Luanza, X/30/99, E.S., March 1900, p. 76.

[4] Yakusu reporting in Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1905, p. 48.

[5] B. Manteke in Annual Report of ABMU for 1907, p. 167.

[6] Monsembe reporting in BMS Annual Report for 1904, M.H., May 1905, p. 255.

[7] Banza Manteke in ABMU Annual Report for 1900, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 471.

In 1905 Yakusu alone sold 10,000 new books and Bopoto 8,000.[1]

Part of this desire for books and reading appears at least initially to have been motivated by the African's conception that here was a new and powerful "fetish." "At present in the eyes of the people, our books are often nothing more nor less than mysterious charms."[2] A year later William Sheppard, an American Negro and pioneer missionary for the APCM, wrote from the Kasai:

> There was not a book in all the region. They had never seen a book, nor a piece of paper of any description. Mr. Lapsley had a large picture book, and the natives asked the loan of it. They excitedly crowded and jostled each other, eager to see and to touch it....It was a wonderful thing to them that you could mark down your thoughts and they would stay there. Sometimes Mr. Lapsley would send me a note by one of the crowd, and when I would tell them what he had said, they were simply dumbfounded.[3]

A similar account of the African response in the Equator region is given by Mrs. Dye, pioneer FCMS missionary.

> The natives were naturally superstitious of anything written on paper. Knowing nothing of a written language, they believed a spirit must be in it. At one time a number of little boys attended the mission school from a distant village. After a while one went home and was often seen making mysterious marks on the ground, or on a stick of wood. On being questioned, he explained proudly that he could write something on a piece of paper, and if they would take it to his white teacher he would read it and give them whatever he had asked for. The old chief doubted this, but was anxious to test the lad's mysterious claim. The little lad took a scrap of paper he had carefully preserved, and with a short stub of a pencil slowly spelled out these words,

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[1] Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1905, p. 52.

[2] BMS Annual Report for 1890, M.H., May 1891, p. 207.

[3] William Henry Sheppard, Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1917), pp. 63, 76.

> 'Teacher, give the chief an orange; he thinks I don't know how to write.' The boy then read it to his chief. The chief would not touch this with his fingers, lest the foreign spirit might enter him, but had the lad put it in the end of a piece of split bamboo. This he carried at arm's length all the way to Bolenge, to find out the white man's mysterious secret. Boldly he walked up the steps of the mission bungalow and handed the paper, still safe in its bamboo holder, toward the white man. He took it and, laughing, opened and read it aloud; then he said to the old chief, 'You may have two or three oranges.' The heathen man clapped his hand over his mouth and uttered an exclamation of great surprise, saying, 'I did not hear that paper talk---how did it talk to you?'[1]

Crawford in the Katanga saw a somewhat different meaning in the new African interest in reading:

> We have now entered a very new epoch in our work here---the literature era, when we behold very old men making a brave try to spell out their letters. To see these old people, for whom all the sap and the spice of life is gone, at this reading with an evident gusto, is very gladdening. Every hour of every day gives us a reminder that they are a very ancient people; as they live to-day so did they live centuries ago, and yet their actual history, as narrated over the faggots, is a tale of only yesterday, the sixth chief of a dynasty being, a very old stock! Hence, probably, this zest for reading in which 'dead men's voices may be heard, and the far past brought to the eyes'.[2]

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Not only did sociological factors help to determine educational practice, but practical problems resulting from the physical environment and African reaction itself influenced educational effort. Problems associated with (1) teacher shortage, (2) high death rate,

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[1]Dye, p. 74-75.

[2]Dan Crawford at Luanza, XII/27/99, E.S., June 1900, p. 173.

(3) lack of material resources, (4) language difficulties, and (5) irregular attendance all combined to affect educational development.

Teacher Shortage

Shortages of European teachers for central station schools and field supervision and African teachers for village schools and the quality of both were undoubtedly the major limitation upon educational development. The first complaints of teacher shortages came from Group I Protestant school districts and from the WF and were directly related to the shift in African attitudes toward education. The change in African attitudes to school from indifference to interest and finally enthusiasm occurred first in the Lower Congo and then spread upriver. Compalints of a lack of teachers followed the same path and timing.

The ABMU and BMS began reporting a teacher shortage in the early 1890's just after establishing their first village schools, a situation which continued throughout the CIS period and which limited their ability to expand educational facilities.[1] The situation became more acute as African demands for schools mounted until by the end of 1898 Banza Manteke station alone needed 40-50 African teachers,

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[1] B.M.M.: Henry Richards at Banza Manteke, VII/13/91, November 1891, p. 481; October 1894, p. 487; September 1899, p. 494; October 1906, pp. 400-401; ABMU Annual Reports for 1891, 1897, 1898, and 1900, July 1892, p. 313, July 1898, p. 444; July 1899, p. 380; July 1901, p. 474; M.H.: Bentley at Wathen, VII/5/95, October 1895, p. 406; BMS Annual Reports for 1900 and 1903, May 1901, p. 258; May 1904, pp. 246-248; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1904, pp. 307, 312; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, p. 345.

"a demand which we cannot fill for two or three years at best."[1] By 1900 even the CMA began complaining of the lack of African teachers to meet the rising demand from local villages for schools.[2] By 1899 the WF in the east began complaining of an insufficient number of teachers,[3] and beginning in 1901 at Bolobo[4] missionaries along the upper river[5] and in the Kasai region,[6] reported teacher shortages as requests for teachers flowed in from African villages. By 1906 even in the Katanga the results of the shift in African attitude were felt with the resulting teacher shortage.[7]

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[1] B.M.M., January 1899, p. 16.

[2] CMA, Annual Reports for 1900, p. 93; 1901, p. 104; 1903, p. 152; 1904, p. 62; 1905, p. 108; 1906, pp. 145, 149; 1909, p. 172.

[3] Missions d'Afrique des PB, janvier 1899, p. 6.

[4] BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, pp. 237-238.

[5] Lukolela and Bopoto reporting in Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1904, pp. 95, 98, 101; M.I., December 1904, p. 523; June 1905, p. 185; December 1905, p. 524; September 1906, p. 290; February 1907, p. 67; Smith, Yakusu, p. 222; Yakusu report in BMS Annual Report for 1903, M.H., May 1904, p. 257; Grenfell at Yakusu, X/1/04 quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 529. Here Grenfell reports they could not hope to train the thirty needed teachers for the out-schools. If they could meet half that amount they would be fortunate. See, also, M.H., December 1904, p. 594; January 1908, p. 16; and Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1906, p. 57.

[6] Miss., May 1903, p. 221.

[7] Tilsley, p. 481. They even wondered how they would continue the five schools they had in the immediate vicinity of Luanza, for with the departure in August 1907 of the teachers on contract from Livingstonia, they did not even have enough African teachers for the station day school itself. (Grace Crawford at Luanza, VIII/17/07, E.S., December 1907, p. 469; February 1908, p. 57). This geographical movement of the problem paralleled the shift in African reactions to schooling which followed the same pattern.

The Catholic mission journals with the exception of the WF indicate no concern with a shortage of African teachers before the turn of the century mainly because most did not direct their evangelical activities toward the local community, depending for recruitment upon repurchased slaves, and because few operated schools. The only Catholic missions besides the WF which began to complain of a teacher shortage late in the CIS period are those near active Protestant missions, the Jesuits, Redemptorists, SHF and Scheutists in the Kasai region. The increased African interest in education led them to step up or in most cases begin offering secular educational opportunities in order to attract Africans to their stations or subposts. The first published Jesuit complaints of a lack of catechists came only in 1901[1] but in 1902 they began their orphan round-up program in cooperation with the government which partly relieved their teacher supply problems, although they continued to complain of a shortage.[2] The SHF in the Stanleyville area, adjacent to the BMS Yakusu station, began their educational activities in 1903 in order to compete with Yakusu and to take advantage of the "education fever." By 1906 they are continually complaining of both a teacher shortage and

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[1]Diary of Father de Vos, Missions belges, juillet 1902, p. 264. Father Brielman had predicted in 1900 that there would be a shortage of catechists because new fermes-chapelles were being opened too rapidly. Missions belges, novembre 1900, p. 427.

[2]Diary of Father Cus, Missions belges, mars 1905, p. 104. Brielman, Missions belges, aout 1903, p. 279. The continuing shortage was partly due to the repercussions of the sleeping sickness epidemic. Large numbers of catechists were necessary both to replace those who died and because the epidemic prevented great agglomerations of children. The ferme-chapelle method itself meant there were a large number of small posts each of which needed a catechist. In addition, it took months to train a properly-qualified catechist.

a shortage of school materials.[1] The Upper Kasai Scheutists did not complain until 1906 of a shortage of catechists.[2] In the same year the nearby APCM station at Luebo reported "there is now an active effort on the part of the Catholic element to gain these places [African villages requesting teachers]."[3]

There was also an acute shortage of European staff to teach in station schools, and to supervise African teachers when they were out in the villages. The central station schools, particularly in the early years on both the lower and upper rivers, were entirely dependent upon the health, presence and time schedule of the missionary wives or single women. When they were sick, died, accompanied their husbands on itineration or went on furlough the station school closed.[4] The extent of school work was also limited by the time of the staff.[5]

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[1]Regne du Sacré Coeur de Jésus, novembre 1906, p. 166; février 1907, pp. 19, 23; mai 1908, p. 70; décembre 1908, p. 174.

[2]Father Vervaeke from St. Hemptinne, undated, Missions en Chine et au Congo, février 1906, pp. 33-34.

[3]Miss., June 1906, p. 277.

[4]R.B., May 1884, p. 66; July 1894, p. 253; November 1902, p. 315. Miss., January 1895, p. 24. M.I., April 1900, p. 86; November 1900, p. 295; May 1906, p. 156. B.M.M., February 1893, p. 54 and ABMU Annual Reports for 1889, 1891, 1892, 1901, July 1890, p. 305; July 1892, p. 310; July 1893, p. 342; July 1902, p. 468. M.H., BMS Annual Reports for 1897, 1898, 1903, May 1898, p. 257; May 1899, p. 256; May 1904, p. 254 and Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 236.

[5]BMS Annual Report for 1893, M.H., May 1894, p. 210; ABMU Annual Report for 1901, B.M.M., July 1902, p. 468; M.I., December 1904, p. 523.

Some saw constant or periodic evangelistic itineration for religious purposes as more important than schoolkeeping,[1] while material preoccupations of building construction claimed much time during the pioneer period. A pioneer Scheutist missionary spoke for all when he said; "What have I done since November 24th [1888], the date of our arrival here? I have been lumberjack, carpenter, joiner, mason, blacksmith, hunter, ditch-digger, picture-framer, etc., but missionary, not at all."[2]

This shortage of European personnel to teach persisted and by 1908 most Protestant missionary societies were continually requesting that more missionary staff be sent, particularly young women to teach and missionaries to supervise and expand the out-schools.[3]

> ...school work calls loudly for support, and it will only be as those in the homeland fitted and equipped by God for this special work come forth and teach the Africans how to impart instruction that they will be at all able to satisfactorially take charge of out-schools. Otherwise the children are hampered and get such a distaste that no amount of beating-up can drive them out of their hiding-places.[4]

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[1]Rev. A.L. Bain at Banza Manteke, XII/11/93, B.M.M., March 1894, p. 86. Several months later Bain wrote "the educational work I find has been hindered; not that any one has failed to do his duty, but that no one has been here to care for the many schools." VI/2/94, ibid., October 1894, p. 487.

[2]Father Emeri Cambier to his family from Berghe-Ste-Marie, I/23/89, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mars 1889, p. 92.

[3]M.H., May 1908, p. 129; Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1909, pp. 48, 53; CMA, Annual Report for 1909, p. 173; M.I., November 1905, p. 395; January 1906, p. 25; April 1906, p. 127; March 1908, p. 120; R.B., October 1902, p. 280; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1908, p. 122.

[4]John A. Clarke at Luanza, II/4/09, E.S., August 1909, p. 312.

Not only was educational expansion and development limited by a quantitative shortage of African teachers, but a persistent qualitative one as well. With increasing enrollments and ever increasing requests for teachers, those Congolese sent out were even more poorly prepared. As with the teacher shortage, the problem of teacher quality was felt after the opening of out-schools and first in the Lower Congo[1] and then moved upriver[2] and east to the Kasai.[3]

All African teachers struggled to cope with tasks for which they were grossly unprepared. Some did well considering their lack of training;[4] others proved "untrustworthy and unfaithful" in the eyes of the missionaries.[5] Some were said to be lazy, some "ran away" to work for wages in the towns, some tried to make a profit from their

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[1]BMS Annual Report for 1903, M.H., May 1904, p. 246; July 1906, p. 209. B.M.M.: October 1894, p. 487; ABMU Annual Reports for 1892, 1896, 1899, 1903, July 1893, p. 324; July 1897, p. 410; July 1900, pp. 430-431; July 1904, p. 492; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1906, p. 187.

[2]Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, quoting letter dated X/1/04 from Grenfell at Yakusu to Baynes which said, "We are again much impressed as to the need for better-trained teachers, but did not succeed in evolving any scheme for producing them that we could at present recommend to the consideration of the Committee." See also Stapleton in BMS Annual Report for 1904, M.H., May 1905, p. 259 where he remarked that "teachers are poorly equipped academically" as "we have not had time yet to grow trained teachers."

[3]Kassai Herald, April 1903, p. 20; Miss., May 1903, p. 221; APCM Annual Report for 1904, Miss., May 1905, p. 212; Kassai Herald, January 1907, p. 5.

[4]Rev. A. L. Bain from Banza Manteke, VI/2/94, and Rev. Peder Frederickson at Kifwa, ABMU Annual Report for 1899, B.M.M., October 1894, p. 487 and July 1900, p. 430.

[5]ABMU Annual Reports for 1890, 1891, 1892, B.M.M., July 1891 p. 318; July 1892, p. 313; July 1893, p. 340; Annual Reports of the ABMU for 1904 and 1908, pp. 312, 123; CMA, Annual Report for 1906, p. 145; Missions belges, Superior J. Banckaert, undated, janvier

subposts, particularly in the fermes-chapelles of the Jesuits, while others neglected the children in their care. Some were dismissed for character reasons.

> ...in general one cannot count too long on these catechists. At the beginning one finds them ardent and they take to heart the interests of the catechumenat confided to their care; but as their pupils come to prefer playing hookey, the catechists become discouraged. In other cases they use poorly the prestige which they have in front of the natives as the protege of the priest and it is necessary to withdraw and replace them.[1]

Because of their technical ineptness, African pupils frequently preferred the missionary to the African teacher.[2] "It seems difficult for the natives to acquire the necessary skill and patience to make them really good teachers."[3]

High Death Rate

The quantity of both European and African teachers available was heavily influenced by the high death rate in the Congo. While the mission societies did have control over the quality and quantity of staff recruited, there was little they could do about loss of European and African personnel from the exigencies of climate and disease. The Congo became known as the "short cut to heaven."[4]

1903, p. 31; Butaye to Canon Leroy, IV/19/02, jullet 1902, p. 261 and Father Cus at Wombali, undated, mars 1905, p. 104.

[1]Scheut Father A. Verheyen at Kizu, Mayumbe area, XII/1/08, Missions en Chine, au Congo et au Phillippines, mars 1909, p. 70.

[2]BMS Annual Report for 1898, M.H., May 1899, p. 256; John A. Clarke at Koni Hill, I/1/09, E.S., July 1909, p. 255; Charles Padfield at Ikau, undated, R.B., December 1909, p. 202.

[3]Rev. James Clark at Bolobo, BMS Annual Report for 1903, M.H., May 1904, p. 251.

[4]Fullerton, p. 49.

The death rate among missionaries and later African catechists-evangelists was phenomenal, despite the fact that most of them were young men and women in their early twenties and thirties.[1] Statistics on the total number of missionaries who went to the Congo between 1879 and 1908 vary, but most accounts[2] put the death rate at one-fourth to one-third with another 20 to 30 percent invalided home because of broken health.[3] In some cases the death rate was even higher.[4]

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[1]de Meeus and Steenberghen, p. 64.

[2]Of the 160 some BMS missionaries who went to the Congo between 1879 and 1908 a third died and a third were forced by illness to return home (Rambaud, p. 28). Rinchon (p. 42) reported out of 810 missionaries in the Congo between 1897 and 1910 a quarter (201) died, while Abbot Joseph DeWit reported (Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, mars 1910, p. 17) that out of a total of 415 men and 166 women Catholic missionaries between 1888 and 1908, 134 men and 58 Sisters died (33-1/3 percent). Between 1888 and 1901 the Scheutists lost 44 dead (21 percent) and 39 invalided home out of 203 missionaries and Sisters sent to the Congo (Van Ronslé, Compte rendu, XI/21/01, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mars 1902 p. 50). The Premonstratensians lost 17 dead and debilitated out of 45 missionaries sent to the Congo between 1898 and 1905 (Gaspar, p. 57).

[3]Malaria and blackwater fever were the major killers. At this time the preventive use of quinine for malaria was not understood; indeed malaria was thought to be caused by "noxious vapors that rose from the ground at night. Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, p. 12.

[4]The SMS reported a death rate of approximately 40 percent. Of the 132 missionaries sent out before annexation 51 died and 29 were invalided home. See, Svenska, p. 11. The SHF and their cooperating Sisters lost 12 out of 32 between 1897 and 1904 (Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls..., p. 23) and by 1908 they had lost 22 (46%) out of a total of 47 (Regne du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, avril 1908, p. 50).

Missionaries considered their high death rate one of the major problems to expansion of their work.[1] This, of course, was related to and aggravated the quantitative shortage of European personnel due to insufficient personnel being sent out because of financial reasons. Stations were both continually undermanned and constantly served by inexperienced personnel. Because of deaths and illness, for example, frequently there was but one missionary couple left on the FCMS central station as late as 1906[2] and the Trappists Bamania station at one point was left entirely unmanned, the resident missionaries all having died or been invalided home before replacements could arrive.[3]

This high turnover of missionaries meant their staffs were constantly beginners in the language, holding school work at a very elementary level,[4] if only for this limitation, policy considerations aside. Indeed, it was the new arrival who was put to school teaching in an effort to help him learn the language.[5] A missionary at Wathen cautioned:

> The number of our scholars may be considered small by some of our friends, but we must not forget that when to such a large extent stations are manned by brethren

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[1]See, for example CMA, Annual Report for 1897, p. 33; ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., July 1904, p. 490; September 1909, p. 313; Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls..., p. 24.

[2]FCMS Annual Report for 1905-06, M.I., November 1906, p. 422; Smith, p. 22.

[3]Father Léon at Bamania to R.F. Prior of Achel, X/2/99, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, février 5, 1900, p. 89.

[4]BMS Annual Reports for 1885, 1887, 1895, M.H., June 1886, p. 274; May 1888, p. 193, May 1896, p. 275; FCMS Annual Report for 1901-02, M.I., November 1902, p. 363.

[5]Lewis, These Seventy Years, p. 130.

> who have only been a few months in the country, it would be neither well for them nor their scholars if there were large schools to be managed without previous experience or mastery of the language.[1]

The continual shortage of European staff also meant school work could not be carried on regularly, nor would it be expanded or well supervised.[2]

The death rate among African teacher-evangelists also became acute by the turn of the century. At first and forming a continuing problem were the regional epidemics of influenza[3] and pneumonia[4] in the Lower Congo and smallpox on the Upper River.[5] But the great killer was sleeping sickness which spread through the Congo between 1898 and World War I. Along with the food shortage to which it contributed, sleeping sickness by the turn of the century became a principal obstruction to evangelization and educational expansion.

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[1]BMS Annual Report for 1885, M.H., June 1886, p. 275.

[2]B.M.M.: June 1892, p. 174; ABMU Annual Reports for 1891, 1892 1900, July 1892, p. 316; July 1893, p. 342; July 1901, pp. 478-479; Annual Reports of the ABMU for 1904 and 1905, pp. 305, 345. M.H.: April 1896, p. 173; March 1899, p. 93; January 1905, p. 28; BMS Annual Reports for 1901 and 1903, May 1902, pp. 237-238 and May 1904, p. 246. Miss., October 1892, p. 416; March 1894, pp. 100, 102; December 1900, p. 550; June 1901, p. 272. Kassai Herald, January 1907, p. 13. M.I., September 1906, p. 290.

[3]In 1900 the Jesuits in the Lower Congo reported an influenza epidemic and "everywhere villages are filled with cadavers." Missions belges, novembre 1900, p. 430. See also, ABMU Annual Report for 1900, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 474.

[4]ABMU Annual Report for 1902, B.M.M., July 1903, p. 504.

[5]R.B., November 1899, p. 412; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1906, p. 188.

Beginning in 1898 at Kwamouth, when it reached epidemic proportion,[1] it spread to the Lower Congo by 1900,[2] then upriver[3] and by 1904 was causing havoc in the Kasai[4] and eastern Congo areas.[5]

It appeared as though the Congo would become a vast desert. Some estimates placed the death toll in the Lower Congo as high as two-thirds of the total population.[6] Sometimes African catechists and evangelists died as fast as they could be trained.[7] A missionary in the Lower Congo wrote: "The death rate is so great among our teachers

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[1]The first and main Scheutist station, Berghe-Ste-Marie, was struck in 1896 and by 1900 had lost in four years some 580 children (Jesuit Father de Vos, diary entry of IX/18/00 during visit at Kwamouth, Missions belges, mai 1901, p. 19). Van Ronslé forbade the station to accept any more children in 1899 and living children were sent elsewhere (Scheutist Alfred Huysman at Berghe-Ste-Marie, IV/10/99, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juin 1899, p. 94). Soon thereafter visitors reported the station in ruins (Father Wotters to T.R. Superior General, V/22/00, Missions in Chine et au Congo, octobre 1900, p. 524).

[2]At the turn of the century the sleeping sickness moved to the Lower Congo area and continued to ravage that area reaching a peak between 1902-06. See Denis, pp. 74-75; Sadin, pp. 25, 69-70; L. Peeters, Le Kwango après cinquante ans (1893-1943) (Bruxelles: Bulens, 1943), p. 52. ABMU missionaries at Banza Manteke reported as early as 1900 that "sleeping sickness is still our unconquered and most deadly foe." B.M.M., January 1901, p. 16.

[3]Monsembe, Upoto and CBM stations report sleeping sickness pronounced by 1901. BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, p. 241; Reynolds, p. 31; R.B., June 1907, p. 156.

[4]Kassai Herald, July 1904, p. 25; Missions en Chine et au Congo, 1904-1908, passim.

[5]By 1904 sleeping sickness was the major problem for the WF causing them to move children and to close out three central stations. Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, I, p. 178; Roelens, Missions des PB, janvier 1906, p. 5; février 1907, p. 58; mars 1908, p. 65.

[6]Missions belges, juin 1907, pp. 201-202; septembre 1907, p. 379.

[7]BMS Annual Report for 1900, M.H., May 1901, p. 252; ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., July 1904, p. 490; Missions belges, mai 1906, p. 183.

that it is almost impossible to keep up the supply."[1] Ten percent of teachers at Lukunga died annually solely from sleeping sickness,[2] while the Jesuits reported they lost more than half of their most experienced catechists within three years.[3] Indeed, they claim that sixty percent of the children in their fermes-chapelles died.[4] A treatment, atoxyl, an arsenic compound, was found effective and distributed by the government in 1907,[5] but the side effects of blindness and deafness[6] were not eliminated until after World War I when a safe and effective treatment was found and the disease wiped out.[7]

Lack of Material Resources

Serious shortages of funds, food, and textbooks became major barriers to educational development.

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[1]Annual Report of the ABMU for 1904, p. 312.

[2]Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, p. 345.

[3]Van Wing, p. 30.

[4]Van Wing, pp. 27-30; Laveille, pp. 340-341; Missions belges, octobre 1907, p. 379; novembre 1907, p. 418. The death rate from sleeping sickness for Christians appears to have fluctuated somewhere between 5 and 25 percent. FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 409; ABMU Annual Report for 1900; B.M.M., July 1901, p. 473; Wathen's death rate in 1901, for example, was 10 percent of Christians. BMS Annual report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, p. 230.

[5]Missions belges, septembre 1907, p. 381.

[6]Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, p. 12.

[7]Van Wing, p. 30; Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, p. 12; Denis, p. 78, note 22.

1. Lack of Funds

Lack of funds was one of the most limiting problems for in many cases it dictated the type of educational activities to be pursued. Education became more expensive as one proceeds from the lower to the higher grades or from the informal village schools to the more organized and structured station schools. Station primary day schools cost more than village schools, while boarding schools and advanced training schools cost even more. Schools aimed at attracting the general populace, whether children or adults, were more costly than providing education only for the already-converted because of the dropout rates and irregularity of attendance of the former. And, of course, any school was more expensive than itinerating evangelization by the missionary.[1]

Some mission societies continually complained[2] that lack of funds held back increased enrollment and proper supervision. CMA missionaries at Kinkonji turned away children brought by local chiefs for schooling because they "had not the means for their support."[3] The ABMU Kifwa station wanted to open a school for teachers and evangelists "but want of money has prevented this up to the present."[4] Catholic missions would have repurchased many more children and established

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[1] B.M.M., October 1897, p. 559.

[2] B.M.M., March 1887, p. 71; July 1889, p. 297; April 1892, p. 114; January 1899, p. 16; M.H., October 1890, p. 381; M.I., November 1908, p. 25; Father A. Brielman, Missions belges, aout 1903, p. 279; CMA, Annual Reports for 1907, p. 134, and for 1909, p. 173; Bedinger, pp. 62, 136.

[3] CMA, Annual Report for 1900, p. 93.

[4] ABMU Annual Report for 1889, B.M.M., July 1890, p. 431.

more fermes-chapelles and Christian villages, if they had had more funds.[1] Facilities at station schools could not be expanded nor could out-schools be increased despite mounting requests from African communities. Some Group II Protestant societies even had a decrease in missionary staff because of financial difficulties.[2] Indeed the APCM and FCMS missionaries continually named finance as one of their major problems,[3] although lack of planning may have been more the limiting factor.

Funds were also needed to pay imported skilled workmen to construct station schoolhouses, when the children arrived they had to be fed, the out-school teachers and evangelists had to be paid. The great problem became how to lodge, feed and cloth large numbers of boarding pupils and in the case of the Jesuits to supply those in the fermes-chapelles with seeds and tools until they had their first harvest.[4] Those Protestant societies which encouraged self-supporting

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[1]Father Nivard, Superior at Bamania, to Abbot of Westmalle, XII/22/99, Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, April 20, 1900, p. 210. See also Father Garmyn, X/1/96, from Lusambo, Missions en Chine et au Congo, mars 1897, p. 408; Cambier, X/10/92, from Luluabourg, Missions en Chine et au Congo, avril 1893, p. 235.

[2]Miss., June 1902, p. 286.

[3]Andrew F. Hensey, A Master Builder on the Congo (New York, Chicago: Revell, 1916), p. 58; Vinson, p. 114; Wharton, p. 82. Beginning in 1903, because of depression conditions in the U.S., the APCM Home Committee had protested the high cost of the Congo Mission. The result was that missionary staff who died or left were not replaced.

[4]Missions belges, mai 1899, p. 205; juin 1899, p. 247; avril 1906, p. 151; Father Goosens, III/6/05, from Kisantu, août 1905, p. 290; Father Hanquet from Mpese, X/15/06, January 1907, pp. 39-40; La Voix du Redempteur, novembre 1908, p. 438; Jeanroy, Notice sur la Mission des Falls..., p. 24.

out-schools could never be sure that African church collections would continue to meet expenses,[1] for sometimes out-station schools failed to support their teachers.[2] Enthusiasm was high initially, but sustained financing required organization, leadership and persuasion particularly on the part of the missionary. The high cost of work in central Africa was not the initial cost, but the transportation costs occasioned by the market situation. Trade was based upon barter, the exchange of cloth, salt, bells and other trinkets or commodities for African food and labor. It is said to have cost ten dollars in transportation and handling charges to bring twenty cents worth of salt to Luebo.

2. Food Shortages

The most continuing complaint about educational problems in the Congo and one of the greatest limits on educational expansion was procuring a regular and adequate supply of food. Such shortages limited the size of boarding schools and since all the advanced training schools were resident, food placed an absolute barrier to the supply of trained African teachers.

The food shortage was mainly felt in the more populace Lower Congo.[3] Indeed, in the early years missions in the Lower Congo had to

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[1]Smith, Yakusu, p. 235.

[2]Annual Report of the ABMU for 1904, p. 312.

[3]The only upriver stations to complain of food shortages were the ABMU stations of Ikoko and Tshimbiri and then once only. See Joseph Clark, III/11/96, from Ikoko, B.M.M., August 1896, p. 456; Rev. A. Billington at Tshimbiri, G.C.R., 1904, p. 25. This latter situation occurred when the telegraph line was being laid meaning there were a large number of workers needing food too.

offer the inducement of free board in order to get children to attend school,[1] for irregularity of attendance was partly due to the fact that children were required to spend the day scavengering for their food. In the 1880's and 1890's the shortage was due to the need for large amounts of food by the upcountry carriers who served as communication between the seacoast and Leopoldville before the railway was completed. They bought what surplus food the local people could be induced to produce and sell meaning school pupils had to go off hunting and gathering as a consequence.[2] As the food shortage became greater the price of food rose causing additional problems for the missions between the coast and Leopoldville. After 1902 the unsettled conditions of the region and the sleeping sickness epidemic meant people had little food to sell.[3]

But it was not principally a question of having enough money to buy food. Rather it was a question of insufficient surplus in a subsistence economy. With the influx of Europeans and particularly the influx of thousands of West African and Chinese workers on the Matadi-Leopoldville railway, the existing traditional cultivation was unable to provide enough surplus food. The Catholic missions' solution was to expand their own agriculture but this was difficult in that the hordes of children who arrived under their agreement with the state were frequently either too weak or too young to work

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[1]Wathen reporting in BMS Annual Report for 1890, M.H., May 1891, p. 208.

[2]ABMU Annual Report for 1890, B.M.M., July 1891, p. 318.

[3]ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., July 1904, p. 499.

efficiently.[1] For example, the Jesuit station at Mpese reported in December 1905 that they had more than 800 children who were under 8 years of age.[2] Children were, therefore, boarded with nearby African Christian families or with relatives.[3]

This problem of food shortages limiting boarding school enrollments and thereby total educational expansion remained a continuing problem.[4,5] Bentley had written from Wathen in 1882 that "food is the great constant difficulty,"[6] and more than twenty years later it was still described by Wathen missionaries as the "greatest worry."[7] The Jesuits in particular began complaining of food deficiencies in October 1902, when they began their orphan recruitment relationship with the State under the 1892 Education Act. From then on Jesuit missionary letters increasingly state they are unable to feed all...

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[1] Missions belges, août 1904, p. 300; mai 1905, p. 199; mai 1906, p. 200.

[2] Father Hanquet at Mpese, XII/5/05, Missions belges, mars 1906, p. 111.

[3] Sister Superior at Kisantu to Rev. Mother General at Namur, X/9/02, Missions belges, janvier 1903, p. 29.

[4] B.M.M., ABMU Annual Reports for 1889, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1900, 1903, July 1890, p. 305; July 1892, pp. 315-316; July 1895, p. 392; July 1897, p. 404; July 1901, pp. 471-474; July 1904, p. 499; October 1897, p. 559; BMS Annual Reports for 1889 and 1892, M.H., May 1890, p. 186; May 1893, p. 216; Bentley to Baynes, II/10/93 from Wathen, M.H., March 1893, p. 80; Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 369; Panza Manteke reporting in Annual Report of the ABMU for 1905, p. 343; Pierpont, p. 51; Denis, p. 63.

[5] In 1960, shortly after independence, the writer asked the division chief of Catholic secondary education in the Congo what his greatest educational problem was. His reply was food for their boarding schools.

[6] Bentley to Baynes, XI/16/82, M.H., March 1883, p. 85.

[7] Annual Report of the Committee of BMS for 1904, p. 83.

of their pupils three meals a day,[1] and on several occasions the children had nothing to eat.[2]

3. Textbook Shortage

One of the most serious deterents to educational development was the shortage of reading materials. There was a close relation between the production and supply of textbooks and the depth of the curriculum and the ability to rapidly expand educational enrollments. Most Protestant missions reported a direct relation between the availability of books and increased African interest in schooling.[3] In addition, textbook shortages affected learning. When there was an insufficient supply of reading materials pupils memorized from cover to cover those few books available.[4] Pupils were "compelled to...re-read and re-read ad infinitum."[5] Further, this meant pupil progress frequently became limited to the ABC level.[6]

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[1]Sister Superior at Kisantu to Rev. Mother General at Namur X/9/02, missions belges, janvier 1903, p. 29.

[2]Father Hanquet XII/5/05 from Mpese, Missions belges, mars 1906, p. 111.

[3]See, for example, FCMS Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 412; Miss., December 1900, p. 550. The APCM attributed the rising interest in education at both their stations during 1901 to the arrival of the printing press and the printing of the first books in Tshiluba. Morrison wrote (Miss., June 1902, p. 283)

> "We are also very much gratified at the greatly increased interest in the schools during the past year both at Luebo and Ibanj. We attribute much of this to the coming of the printing press, by means of which we have already printed two school readers, also a small collection of parables of our Lord."

[4]Kassai Herald, October 1905, p. 40.

[5]Missions des PB, juillet 1900, p. 199.

[6]"The majority, especially in the subposts, are always on the ABC's...as we have no books to give them." Roelens, Missions d' Afrique des PB, décembre 1898, p. 366.

The mission school districts that found textbook shortages the greatest problem were Group II Protestant societies. Because of the general Protestant emphasis upon direct contact with the Word of God, these districts, like all Protestant ones, were compelled theoretically to make great efforts to provide religious texts. Yet because of their lack of strong leadership and consistent organization, Group II societies continually complained of a lack of books.[1] This was said to hold back the development of the schools and to be responsible for the incompetence and lack of training of African teachers.[2] Some central station schools, such as that of the FCMS, were so short of slates that "some grades being able to write but once a week and then many must use little broken pieces."[3] For several years the CBM school at Bongandanga had to divide two dozen slates among 200 children.[4] Similar difficulties were found at APCM schools. The first reader in Bakuba did not appear until 1903, so that before that time the children at APCM station primary schools simply made a smooth spot in the sand and thus had their first lessons in spelling and writing.[5]

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[1] Miss., March 1898, p. 125; December 1900, p. 550; May 1903, p. 221; Kassai Herald, January 1907, p. 4; M.I., December 1905, p. 525; February 1907, p. 67; Dye, p. 83; Guiness, New World of Central Africa, p. 380; R.B., February 1892, p. 91; June 1895, p. 279; April 1901, pp. 92-93.

[2] Mrs. Snyder from Luebo, VII/18/00, Miss., December 1900, p.550; Kassai Herald, April 1903, p. 20.

[3] FCMS Annual Report for 1900-01, M.I., November 1901, p. 288.

[4] R.B., February 1892, p. 91; April 1901, pp. 92-93. Slates had to be used as ink and particularly paper were too expensive.

[5] L.M. Thomas, Kassai Herald, April 1903, p. 20.

There was not the same shortage of books reported by missionaries in the single-language Lower Congo area. From time to time the ABMU complained of the lack of "suitable books" being a "serious drawback."[1] Or the BMS at Wathen spoke of a shortage of "certain books" which was a "great inconvenience" in the schools. But to counter such temporary shortages they worked their hand press on a twenty-four hour basis.[2] Frequently, there the shortages were temporary, due to sudden increases in enrollment.[3]

American and British Baptist upriver stations do not seem to have been in the same "primitive" situation with regard to books as Group II Protestant upriver societies. Yakusu especially spoke of "a chronic shortage of literature,"[4] but this was due mainly to their huge and increasing sale of books and not to lack of preparation of materials.[5] While from time to time out-school pupils were often four or five to a reading card, these temporary shortages were quickly remedied.[6]

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[1]Banza Manteke reporting in ABMU Annual Report for 1900, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 471. Also ibid., October 1906, p. 401 claimed "a fair start has been made toward text-books...but we need more."

[2]BMS Annual Report for 1904, M.H., May 1905, p. 248.

[3]BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, p. 234.

[4]Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS for 1904, p. 105.

[5]Smith, Yakusu, p. 246; BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, p. 234.

[6]Grenfell to Baynes describing a trip to Yakusu, X/1/04 quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 529.

Only three Catholic orders complained of a textbook and school material shortage, the WF between 1898 and 1901,[1] and the Jesuits[2] and SHF,[3] when the latter two became interested in education after the turn of the century. This reinforces the idea that most Catholic orders were doing little in terms of secular education. Oral religious instruction, centered upon the memorization of prayers and catechismal responses, was not dependent upon written materials.

Language Problems

Language proved to be "not a single barrier but a whole series of them..."[4] With the exception of the Swahili used in the eastern Congo as a lingua franca none of the more than 400 separate languages and dialects spoken in the Congo had been reduced to writing before the missionaries entered the Congo basin in 1879. Although most of these languages and dialects were members of the Bantu family of languages, even within a limited geographical region, they were found to be mutually incomprehensible. Individual central stations might find themselves among ten to fifteen different languages all within two weeks march. Indeed, languages in some areas were described as changing every forty or fifty miles.[5]

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[1] Missions d'Afrique des PB, décembre 1898, p. 366; Missions des PB, août 1900, p. 240; juillet 1900, p. 199; avril 1901, p. 122.

[2] Missions belges, juin 1902, p. 237; Sadin, p. 59. The paper shortage from time to time at Kisantu held down output.

[3] Regne du Coeur de Jésus, février 1907, p. 19; Regne du Sacré-Coeur, avril 1909, p. 52.

[4] Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, p. 13. See also B.M.M., August 1887, p. 332; ABMU Annual Report for 1887, July 1888, p. 294; Missions d'Afrique des PB, juillet 1898, p. 204.

[5] Missions d'Afrique des PB, septembre 1899, p. 266; Dugald Campbell at Mwena, I/28/97, E.S., August 1897, p. 234.

The first major language problem for each mission station or school district was to choose one or several languages as the medium of instruction. To have had adequate texts covering the whole Congo area would require the reduction of more than 400 separate languages and dialects. This was an insuperable task which would have required large numbers of highly specialized staff and adequate financing. Thus, obviously some choice had to be made as to which languages would be reduced to writing. This would be no easy task. First, a choice had to be made as to which language or languages. This choice had to be made, too, at a time when enthnological knowledge was very rudimentary. Obviously, the missionaries wanted to reach as many people as possible with the least linguistic input. That is, the Protestants in particular wanted to choose mother tongues which represented the largest tribes in their areas. In a new land this was easier said than done. For example, the APCM began work among the Bakete because they were the neighboring tribe to the mission station. APCM missionaries began reducing their language to writing and even produced their first (and only) text in Kikete in 1895. But the Bakete showed little interest in the Gospel message so the missionaries switched their attention to the more receptive Balubas and their language, Tshiluba. It was later discovered that Bakete was spoken by only a few hundred thousand, while Tshiluba was understood by several million.[1] The choice was made not on the basis of full

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[1]Bedinger, p. 37; Vinson, p. 35.

knowledge of the linguistic situation, but simply because the Bakete were not receptive. Similar "mistakes" were made by other mission societies working on the polyglot upper river.[1]

Second, once a choice had been made the language had to be reduced to a written form. This meant learning the language, but with "no dictionaries, nor grammars, nor books, nor literature"[2] to help in language study.

> ...to master any foreign language, with the assistance of grammars, exercise books, dictionaries, and an intelligent teacher is by no means an easy task, but to accomplish this without any aids whatever is one that challenges the keenest intellect...learning to speak the language solely by conversation with the people and then searching out the principles upon which the language was constructed.[3]

All the Protestant groups recount various types of barriers raised by language study. Sometimes the Africans intentionally deceived them by providing wrong translations or chiefs forbade their subjects on penalty of death to aid missionaries in language study.[4] Sometimes missionaries themselves mistook trade market jargon for the pure local language.[5] Other times the sudden estranging of relations between the State and a local tribe necessitated giving up entirely the study of a language as the people fled the

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[1]The best evidence is the handful of materials produced in other than the main language of each mission society. See Table II, Appendix A.

[2]Richards, The Pentacost on the Congo, 1891, p. 8.

[3]Vinson, p. 57.

[4]Guiness, Not Unto Us, p. 73.

[5]Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals, pp. 48-49; Samuel Lapsley, IX/30/91 from Luebo quoted in James Woods Lapsley (ed.), Life and Letters of Samuel Norvell Lapsley, Missionary to the Congo Valley, West Africa

area.[1]

Blunders became legion. A pioneer APCM missionary reported: "I was somewhat chagrined last autumn to find that I had spent all the preceding months learning not the language of my Bakete parishioners but that of the Bashilange."[2] A veteran missionary from the Katanga pointed out other blunders:

> One of our number quaintly asked a native what the word for an axe was. The native, not knowing what the question was, asked, 'What do you say?' This question was calmly written down as the word for 'axe'! On this same principle you will find rivers mapped solemnly in African maps as, I don't know River or Mountain Mountains, and so on.[3]

Serious inaccuracies resulted whose consequences were frequently serious. First of all, many of the materials produced, particularly in regional or trade languages, were by and large "as foreign to the Congolese as to the Europeans....Neither side could gain a very high respect for the other party's intelligence with so poor a bridge of communications between them."[4] Second, there was much rewriting of materials by missionaries because "new missionaries rarely find the translations and grammars of their predecessors good enough to use and proceed at once to prepare new works."[5] For example,

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1866-1892 (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Sheppardson, 1893), p. 203. For example, Luebo was a market center attracting numerous tribes. A sort of linguistic "hash" was spoken making it impossible to tell which word belonged to which tribe.

[1]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, pp. 226-227.

[2]Samuel Lapsley at Luebo, undated, Miss., June 1892, p. 236.

[3]Dan Crawford at Livingstonia, IV/25/04, E.S., July 1904, p. 259.

[4]Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, pp. 13-14.

[5]Starr, p. 6.

when the FCMS took over the ABMU station at Bolenge, their leader reported that "a few translations of portions of the Scriptures have been made, but these are so incorrect as to be almost useless."[1]

Action was taken in the early 1900's by the leading Protestant missions on the Lower Congo in an effort to standardize Kikongo. The Lower Congo from the coast to Leopoldville was considered a homogenous language area with perhaps as many as 2 million Kikongo-speaking people. There was much controversy among missionaries, however, over the language. This took the form of squabbles over orthography and particularly over the translation of ethical and religious terms. One leading BMS missionary, looking back after fifty years of Congo service, who himself contributed to these materials, called them "exercises" in language study.[2] For example, a missionary to whom a title was submitted for translation by a bibliographer of Congo materials replied: "'I could make a guess as to its meaning, but should prefer not to do so as I might be mistaken.' Yet he worked in the same field and used the same language as the missionary whose work was submitted."[3] It was said the SMS translation of the Bible in Kikongo differed "so much from Mr. Bently's [sic] translation of the New Testament that it must be classed as in another language."[4] However, Westlind of the SMS, who translated the Bible, claimed that

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[1]E.E. Faris, FCMS Annual Report for 1899-1900, M.I., November 1900, p. 297.

[2]Lewis, These Seventy Years, p. 282.

[3]Starr, pp. 6-7.

[4]Richards in ABMU Annual Report for 1902, B.M.M., July 1903, p. 508.

when one knew any one of the Kikongo dialects it was easy to understand any other.[1] The ABMU tended to agree with the SMS,[2] but this had not always been true.[3]

Part of the standardization problem stemmed from the differences in dialect in Kikongo. The Jesuits used the Kikongo spoken in the Inkisi region where their main station, Kisantu, was located "making some simple simplifications without making it pidgin or commercial Kikongo,"[4] while the BMS chose that of the San Salvador area as being the "purest" dialect.[5] It was claimed, however, that from Banana to Leopoldville "...from one district to another there are only slight variations, and one must pass through several dialects before finding any radical differences....One has little difficulty in being understood by all if he can converse in any dialect, yet local differences are sufficient to bring about quite a diversity in the translations of different societies."[6] Staff at the United

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[1]Editorial note, B.M.M., June 1891, p. 159.

[2]Richards in ABMU Annual Report for 1903, ibid., June 1904, p. 493.

[3]Rev. E.T. Ellis at Banza Manteke wrote in 1899 that "there are many copies of the SMS translation of the New Testament among the people, but it is only partly intelligible to the people here, and is a poor translation." B.M.M., April 1899, p. 151.

[4]Denis, pp. 28-29.

[5]Lewis, These Seventy Years, pp. 282-285.

[6]Rev. E. T. Welles at Banza Manteke, VI/13/02, B.M.M., October 1902, p. 652. Bentley made similar comments on the universality of Kikongo. See, Pioneering on the Congo, II, p. 235.

Training School at Kimpese serving students from all over the Lower Congo claimed in 1908 that, although the students spoke various dialects of Kikongo, "they are all able to understand us and one another, as the language is really one."[1]

The first General Conference of Protestant Missionaries meeting in 1902 appointed a Language Committee. This Committee held its first meeting at Wathen in June 1902 and another at Mukimbungu in June 1903 in an effort to obtain "a uniform spelling of Scripture and other proper names and the settling upon common terms for the most important theological ideas."[2] This was the beginning of unification of all Lower Congo Kikongo dialects into one common language. "When we sat in Conference, the differences were greater than the agreement,"[3] although some agreement was reached particularly between the ABMU and the SMS.[4]

The second Language Conference in 1903 of representatives of the BMS, SMS and ABMU was held in an effort "to endeavor to agree on a common list of words for theological terminology, the names of the

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[1]Mrs. Thomas Lewis, V/12/09 quoted in Hawker, An English Woman's Twenty Five Years in Tropical Africa, p. 316.

[2]E.T. Welles, VI/13/02, from Banza Manteke, B.M.M., October 1902, p. 652.

[3]Henry Richards in ABMU Annual Report for 1902, B.M.M., July 1903, p.

[4]Perhaps the retiscence was due to disagreement between Bentley and SMS missionaries over the New Testament translation being published for the SMS by the British and Foreign Bible Society which considered Bentley's translation as "in another language." See, Richards in ABMU Annual Report for 1902, B.M.M., July 1903, p. 508.

Bible and other matters which should help to unify the language."[1] Progress was made, but on "many points we agreed to differ and complete settlement at present seems impossible. There is, however, a near approach between the SMS and [AB] Missionary Union."[2]

Irregular Attendance

One of the most serious and continuous problems from an educational point of view was irregularity of attendance. Establishing habits of regularity of attendance among pupils of a student body is similar in importance to establishing such work habits in a newly industrializing nation's labor force. As with industry, part of educational development is creating a disciplined student body who attend school regularly and apply themselves assiduously. Such a disciplined student body was found important, for example, in the rapid development of Japan's modern educational system after the Meiji Restoration.[3] Lack of such regularity limited the quality of instruction and thereby the efficiency of the school. By attending at irregular intervals pupils forgot what they had learned so that many were described as "perpetually beginning again."[4]

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[1]Report of the Language Conference, Supplement to G.C.R., 1904, pp. 53, 63-79.

[2]Richards in ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., July 1904, p. 493.

[3]T. Kobayashi, "Tokugawa Education as a Foundation of Modern Education in Japan," Comparative Education Review, October 1965, pp. 288-302; Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1965), p. 12.

[4]Annual Report for 1899, M.H., May 1900, p. 258.

Those schools which cost the most to organize had the highest efficiency with regard to developing regularity of attendance. That is, central station boarding schools had the highest rate of average daily attendance followed by central station day schools. Village schools ranked worst.[1] Average daily attendance at station day schools was usually reported as 75-85 percent of enrollment, while out-schools' average attendance was reported between 50-60 percent with instances as low as 25 percent.[2] It should not be thought that the nature of boarding schools automatically produced a disciplined student body in terms of regularity of attendance. For example, the Training School at Banza Manteke in 1896 had a 46 percent dropout[3] but lowered this by 1902 to 17 percent,[4] although of these who remained in 1902 15 percent did unsatisfactory work.[5] The principal of Wathen boarding school complained there was a continual turnover of pupils throughout the school year. "The coming and going in our Wathen school is much greater than in schools in England," although regularity improved as the nature of the student body became more and more advanced by the

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[1]See, for example, Annual Report for 1899, ibid., p. 258. There Bolobo says the main problem of irregularity is with non-boarders. See also Annual Report of Committee of BMS for 1907, p. 67 about Yakusu. "Unless a boy is working on the station, one cannot count on his making much progress," said a CBM missionary in R.B., February 1898, p. 78.

[2]Statistics for average daily attendance are available mainly for Protestant missions.

[3]Annual Report of 1896, B.M.M., July 1897, p. 404.

[4]B.M.M., January 1903, p. 33.

[5]ABMU Annual Report for 1902, B.M.M., July 1903, p. 509. 24 pupils began; 4 dropped out and 3 did unsatisfactory work.

fact that many got their first schooling at an out-post school and came to Wathen for more advanced education.[1]

The reasons for the irregularity and its continuation and the difficulties in doing something to correct this problem were multiple. First of all, regularity was given no particular value as a character trait by the African communities. Indeed, missionaries complained of the irresponsibility in their view and the lack of sustained effort in applying themselves on the part of the African. Most missionaries attributed this irregular attendance in great part to a lack of discipline[2] in the western sense of both the African child and his parents. "Parents have no control over their children."[3] One missionary society tried letting the father know when a pupil was absent too frequently. Ordinarily this brought results, "but there were here as elsewhere recalcitrant children and uncaring fathers."[4]

> Regularity of attendance seems to be very difficult to both adults and children. The former indeed have their duties to attend to and too much should not be expected of them. But most of the children are free to attend school. Unfortunately, there is no power behind to compel them to be regular; they come or stay away of their own sweet will. The need of punctuality and regularity is a foreign idea to them.[5]

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[1] Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1902, p. 67.

[2] "The absence of all discipline and regularity in the native life is a great difficulty." Wathen reporting in BMS Annual Report for 1901, M.H., May 1902, p. 233.

[3] Mrs. Ingham at Banza Manteke, I/15/90, B.M.M., May 1890, p.135.

[4] Report from WF de Muelenaere to Roelens, V/10/02, from Luisi-St-Lambert (Urua), Missions des PB, août 1902, p. 229.

[5] Rev. Charles H. Harvey reporting from Palabala in ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., July 1904, p. 491.

This view coincided with the missionaries general belief that the African preferred idleness to work. The African found the disciplined effort necessary to learning unnatural and children pleased themselves whether they attended school or not.[1] "They are not accustomed to a regular life; they prefer to be in their village where they have only to eat and sleep."[2] The Jesuits, WF and the Mayumbe and Kasai Scheutists called this a lack of stability in the African, an "unbelieveable need of change."[3] The African had a horror of being enclosed in the orphanage or mission station under a disciplined life and not able to roam in the forest. The Scheutists and Jesuits even attributed the "flight" of Africans from mission stations to seek work on the railway and in the towns as due to these "instincts of vagabondage and inconstantcy."[4]

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[1]Richards then of LIM at Banza Manteke in R.B., March 1882, p. 412; Richards in ABMU Annual Report for 1888, B.M.M., July 1889, p. 296; Missions des PB, mai 1902, p. 157; M.H., January 1903, p. 39.

[2]Father N. De Cleene at Kangu, I/8/00, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, avril 1900, p. 98; same viewpoint in Father de Clerq, Provincial, visiting Kangu, V/15/00, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1900, p. 508.

[3]Goosens, X/16/03, from Kisantu, Missions belges, février 1904, p. 69. See similar comments in Missions belges, Father Lauwers, undated, septembre 1903, p. 342; Father de Vos from Sanda, IV/1/07, septembre 1907, p. 331; Missions en Chine et au Congo; Father de Clerq, V/15/00, septembre 1900, p. 507; Father Joseph Savels to T.R.F. Superior, III/21/05 from Hemptinne-St.-Benoît, septembre 1905, p. 214; Father Adrien Esnard to Superior, IV/21/06, from Kangu, septembre 1906, p. 215; Scheutist Father Charles Seghers, X/28/02, from Hemptinne-St.-Benoît, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, février 1903, p. 57; WF C. Verbeke, Missions des PB, février 1909, p. 35.

[4]Father Adrien Esnard to T.R.F. Superior, IV/21/06, from Kangu, Missions en Chine et au Congo, septembre 1906, p. 215; See similar comment by Jesuit Father Goosens at Kisantu, X/16/03, Missions belges, février 1904, p. 69.

Secondly, irregularity of attendance was also caused by economic demands as well as African attitudes. The labor of children was needed at various times by their parents. On such occasions the children were removed from school. Before 1898 when the railway was completed the Lower Congo ABMU stations and outposts who had classes for adults as well as children found that attendance was eradic because many young men were engaged in porterage.[1] Upper Congo stations also complained regularity of attendance was affected by adults having to take care of agriculture, hunting, fishing and trading activities.[2] Children, too, were irregular for economic reasons. Some were called to assist their parents in the fields harvesting or driving away birds and monkeys in the Lower Congo and Katanga,[3] moved with herds in the eastern Congo,[4] or helped with hunting, fishing, and trading on the Upper Rivers.[5] "It is a great difficulty to get the children to attend [school] regularly, because of their trouble in getting food."[6] Many, however, were forced

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[1]Annual Report for 1888, B.M.M., July 1889, p. 296; février 1892, p. 49.

[2]Smith, Yakusu, p. 222; ABMU Annual Report for 1898, B.M.M., July 1899, p. 377.

[3]E.S., March 1905, p. 118; July 1909, p. 255; Missions belges, août 1902, p. 298.

[4]Father Joseph Lenoir, "Notre Ecole au Kivu," Missions des PB., septembre 1908, p. 257.

[5]BMS Annual Reports for 1891 and 1903, M.H., May 1892, p. 227 and May 1904, p. 257; R.B., July 1901, p. 197 and June 1907, p. 158.

[6]Peder Frederickson at Kifwa in ABMU Annual Report for 1897, B.M.M., July 1898, p. 444.

by prevailing custom to search and gather their own food, especially in the Lower Congo where there was a perennial shortage of food.[1] Thus, if they wanted children to attend school it was necessary to provide some food[2] or to board them on the station.[3]

Thirdly, in addition to these economic demands natural factors frequently limited school attendance. The hurricane season sometimes destroyed an entire school.[4] Floods in areas on the upper river not only decreased attendance but meant on some days during the rainy season no children at all came to school.[5]

Fourthly, the unsettled socio-political conditions in various areas---strife between the government and tribes, intertribal warfare, the Arab campaign, the State tax system, and the shifting populations in urban centers---distrupted educational activities. Unsettled political conditions caused havoc in education. In the 1890's in the Leopoldville and Equator areas whole groups of people left the CIS and crossed the river to the French Congo. In the Lower Congo area the ABMU reported decreasing attendance between 1892 and 1895 due to fighting between local Africans and the State, but attributed this to the

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[1]Rev. Joseph Clark, X/12/86, from Palabala and Rev. Peder Frederickson at Kinjilu in ABMU Annual Report for 1893, B.M.M., January 1887, p. 26; May 1890, p. 00.

[2]B.M.M., Joseph Clark at Palabala, X/12/86, January 1887, p. 26; ABMU Annual Report for 1890 and 1900, July 1891, p. 318 and July 1901, p. 474.

[3]Frederickson at Kinjila, ABMU Annual Report for 1893, B.M.M., July 1894, p. 360.

[4]Father Stanislas de Vos from Sanda, II/22/07, Missions belges, mai 1907, p. 191; Kassai Herald, July 1904, p. 34.

[5]Charles Banks reporting on Bolenge, ABMU Annual Report for 1896, B.M.M., July 1897, p. 409.

individual incompetence of the local District Commissioner. When he was transferred in 1896 enrollments increased again.[1]

The WF in the eastern Congo were troubled for their initial twenty years first by the raids of Arab slavers, then by the Arab Campaign of 1892-1895 when the State wiped out the slave traders, and finally by the Batelala revolt[2] of CIS soldiers between 1897 and 1899. The area they did not feel was pacified before the turn of the century.[3] Later tribal conflict in the Kivu meant frequent war scares and pupils leaving the schools.[4] Other missions in the Upper Congo and Kasai reported suspension or decreases of school attendance due to tribal feuding or unrest.[5]

Security in the Katanga was hardly achieved during the CIS period. State military troops defeated the African ruler, Msidi I, in late 1891 but they attempted to control his vast empire with a "merely

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[1]ABMU Annual Reports for 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896, B.M.M., July 1893, p. 343; July 1895, p. 391; July 1896, pp. 377, 383; July 1897, p. 404.

[2]1500 Batatela soldiers revolted in March 1897 taking a similar number of guns plus ammunition and artillery. This left the whole CIS in turmoil as troops were rushed from as far off as Leopoldville and even Matadi. The Batetelas were attempting to return home. The revolt was crushed at the end of 1899 only at enormous sacrifice. See René J. Cornet, "Rapport sur les dossiers 'Creation, administration et governement de l'AIC et de l'EIC," Bulletin des séances de l'IRCB, XXV, 1954, pp. 583-584. See also Wauters, Histoire politique, p. 163.

[3]Missions des PB, avril 1901, p. 121. The Kivu was not opened up until 1906, because Batetela revolters hid there. Instead the WF went toward Urua and Manyema instead. See Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, I, p. 66.

[4]Father Joseph Lenoir at Ngagasi (Thielt-St-Pierre) V/8/08, Missions des PB, septembre 1908, p. 257.

[5]Reynolds, p. 31; R.B., July 1894, p. 254; Miss., September 1905, p. 438. The entire station of Ibange was destroyed during the 1904 Bakuba revolt against the State.

nominal garrison" which was an inadequate "substitute for the once thorough though despotic government of the late chief."[1] The Katanga was "not only...torn by quarrels between the various tribes and between the clans and families of those tribes, but it was also suffering from the cruel depredations of several foreign [African] brigand chiefs who lived by rapine and plunder."[2]

The CIS system of tax payment in labor or kind meant children in some districts were frequently out of school in order to do this sort of work. The State itself did not tax children, but villages frequently sent children to do much of the work. For example, missions in the Leopoldville and Bolenge areas complained that children "must be absent a day or two in carrying the village tax of food to the State headquarters, seven miles away,"[3] or that "all but very small children were continually absent" taking the village food tax of bread to Leopoldville.[4] In the Lower Congo many young men and adults had to serve on State plantations.[5] On the Upper Congo the APCM beginning in 1899 and the American Baptists complained of the tax in rubber and

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[1]Crawford, I/1/93, quoted in Tilsley, p. 245.

[2]Tilsley, p. 334.

[3]Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 412.

[4]Annual Report of BMS Committee for 1904, p. 88. See also similar complaints by Jesuits and Scheutists on Leopoldville area in Missions belges, mai 1902, p. 199 and Missions en Chine et au Congo, avril 1904, p. 82.

[5]ABMU Annual Reports for 1900 and 1901, B.M.M., July 1901, p. 471 and July 1902, p. 471; Annual Report of the ABMU for 1908, p. 123.

ivory and State recruitment methods for military personnel causing the people to flee into the bush thus disrupting missionary school activities sometimes for weeks.[1] It is, of course, from the mid-1890's on that Protestant missionaries in the Upper Congo and Kasai areas complain increasingly of the deleterious effects of the tax system of "red rubber."

Schools in the towns of Matadi, Boma and Leopoldville were particularly hampered by the shifting nature of the population. Boys and young men came to work for awhile and then went back to their rural villages. Thus, these towns were made up mainly of railway and steamer employees and State and trading company administrative clerks, artisans and workers. This transient nature of the population made sustained school work difficult.[2]

Some mission orders attempted to counter the problem of irregularity of attendance at least that due to African attitudes by paying pupils, even after the initial problem of demand for payment to get pupils to attend school became unnecessary. Payment of pupils was particularly typical of the WF, the Jesuits and the Upper Kasai Scheutists. The WF at some stations distributed cloth for clothing only on the first day of school after a vacation to insure return,[3]

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[1] Miss., June 1900, p. 274; Vinson, p. 185; ABMU Annual Report for 1903, B.M.M., p. 490; Joseph Clark at Ikoko, ibid., November 1904, p. 719.

[2] CMA, Annual Report for 1902, p. 101; Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1904, p. 87.

[3] Missions d'Afrique des PB, août 1898, p. 239; Missions des PB, juillet 1903, p. 200.

while other stations offered a small reward each month to stimulate regular attendance.[1] The WF even gave a small reward (e.g., a needle or fishhook) "to those who knew their lesson well."[2] The Upper Kasai Scheutists gave cloth, brass nails or several grains of salt as reward for regular attendance.[3] The Jesuits did not have a central policy of payment but from time to time rewards were used as with the WF to encourage performance, rather than attendance.[4] In the early years some Protestant societies did give small rewards,[5] but most were on record as opposed in principal.[6] Evidently only the CBM continued

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[1]Missions des PB, septembre 1903, p. 251, septembre 1908, p. 260.

[2]Father A. Huys to Father Van den Bosch, Professor at the Lower Seminary of Roulers, XII/28/97, from Mpala, Missions d'Afrique des PB, juin 1898, p. 165.

[3]This procedure is mentioned first in 1907 after the Upper Kasai Scheutists had begun secular education due to the competition from nearby Protestants at Luebo. See Father O. Boogheмans at Merode-Salvador, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juin 1908, p. 72.

[4]Missions belges, novembre 1901, p. 411; juillet 1902, pp. 257-258; septembre 1905, p. 358.

[5]"At Palabala they give a cup of rice daily to each scholar, at Lukunga they board, clothe, and lodge the child. At other stations they give brass rods, knives, or beads as food money. If we did this we could get a very large school, but we think that the Christians ought to be taught their own responsibility with regard to their children. There are some orphans whom I would like to feed, but our funds are not sufficient for everything." Mrs. C.E. Ingham at Banza Manteke, I/15/90 B.M.M., May 1890, p. 135. See also Smith, Yakusu, p. 238; Banza Manteke before 1894 in ABMU Annual Report for 1894, B.M.M., July 1895, p. 392.

[6]Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo, II, pp. 142, 273-274; M.H., August 1891, p. 320 re: Bopoto; Annual Report for 1903-04, M.I., November 1904, p. 412; December 1899, p. 356; B.M.M., December 1899, p. 462 re: Leopoldville; ABMU Annual Report for 1890, B.M.M., July 1891, p. 321 re: Irebu; B.M.M., March 1897, p. 106 re: Tshimbiri; B.M.M., July 1902, p. 471 re: Lukunga; ABMU Annual Report for 1889, B.M.M., July 1890, p. 307 re: Leopoldville and p. 305 re: Banza Manteke.

this as a regular policy.[1] However, the ABMU felt that if a station had the financial resources and was willing to give small rewards for regular attendance at school they could have drawn many more children.[2] In a sense this may have been a self-conscious excuse reflecting the lack of financial support from the Society's home committee. Others such as the CBM, which like the Catholic missions regularly paid pupils for good attendance, saw the solution in compulsory education.[3]

In any case irregularity of attendance and the lack of a disciplined student body in general continued to be major barriers to educational development.

EDUCATIONAL RESULTS

It is clear that the African was a force influencing the direction and rate of educational expansion, and that this role has not been given the attention it deserves in histories of African education. As the Congolese began to see the economic advantage of basic literacy or at least of passing through the mission school on the way from the village to wage employment in the growing European towns, enrollment increased phenomenally.

When such Congolese attitudes were combined with mission goals and taking into consideration mission educational methods and aspects

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[1] They began with money (R.B., July-August 1899, p. 327; November 1902, p. 315) but ended with only a teaspoonful of salt a week (R.B., June 1907, p. 158).

[2] B.M.M., ABMU Annual Report for 1889, July 1890, p. 307; June 1899, p. 212; Missions belges, octobre 1905, p. 400.

[3] Mr. Gilchrist at Bongandanga, R.B., February 1902, p. 54.

of Congolese geography, the educational result was an immediate and continuing drop in quality, particularly at the village level, even lower than was necessary with the staff resources at hand.

Inadequate Supervision

The lack of training of village teachers could have been partly overcome by efficient supervision in the field. But missionary policy decisions and African demands combined to thwart such inspection. The connection between over-expansion and decrease in quality through inadequate inspection is very clear. Because of the lack of sufficient European staff in terms of the rate of expansion undertaken on one hand and continual opening of village schools on the other, visitation of village schools took place on the average once or sometimes twice a year, although in many cases not at all. For example, the Mayumbe Scheutists claim with pride in early 1902 that a missionary was able to visit most villages where they had catechists once a month and to remain there several days.[1] But three years later, when they had expanded to more than ninety out-posts, inspection and visitation of all would have required three months by a missionary.[2] There was insufficient staff for this level of expansion to release even one missionary from the central station for three months out of the year so regular inspection of out-post work was

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[1]DeCleene to T.R.F. Superior General, II/25/02, from Kangu, Missions en Chine et au Congo, juin 1902, p. 129.

[2]Mgr. Van Ronslé, IV/4/05, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, juillet 1905, p. 207. For a good description of Kangu see DeCleene to Van Eetvelde, I/1/03, ibid., avril 1903, pp. 108-110.

dropped in favor of requiring the catechists and their candidates for baptism to spend several months at the central station.

Geography also played a role. Mission societies serving small areas, such as those in the Lower Congo, were at least physically more able to cover their out-schools than societies responsible for geographic districts in the interior which frequently were the size of Texas or France with but one or two dozen male missionaries at the most capable of undertaking such inspection trips. In addition because of the distances to be covered in the Upper Congo---in some cases village schools were as far as a hundred miles distant from the central station[1]---inspection trips involved large caravans of several dozen porters.[2] While village schools geographically near central stations did receive more frequent inspection,[3] the purpose of out-schools was to spread religious influence further and further away from the center.

But geography was not the major difficulty in obtaining quality. Rather the missionaries' policy goal of constant expansion tended to negate all improvements in teacher training by meaning that supervision became difficult, if not impossible. We have already seen that

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[1]Grenfell to Thomas Lewis from Yakusu area, X/1/05, quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, pp. 537-538.

[2]See, for example, the description of FCMS itineration in Bedinger, p. 147.

[3]Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1904, pp. 100-101. Even these were only on a monthly or bimonthly basis, although the missionary might stay a day or two and himself teach. See, Roelens, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, juillet 1900, p. 150; Missions d'Afrique des PB, septembre 1899, p. 266; Missions des PB, juillet 1904, p. 194; Ulrix, p. 4; ABMU Annual Report for 1901, B.M.M., July 1902, p. 467.

the Mayunbe Scheutists serving a small area gave up field inspection of catechists' work as the number of out-posts became too great. Even Group I Protestant societies in the small Lower Congo region succumbed to the temptation to overexpand, despite the fact they were aware of the resultant dangers to quality. The American Baptists in the early years were determined to restrict the number of village schools to the number that could be visited regularly and supervised,[1] but such restraint was unusual and even in their case lasted only a short time. While missionaries at Lukunga and Kifwa managed inspection trips three or four times a year,[2] there were so many village schools scattered over a wide area out of Banza Manteke "that there is no possibility of my visiting some parts of it [district] more than once or twice a year."[3] By the turn of the century ABMU village schools in the Lower Congo were visited no more than this annually.[4] The BMS also over-expanded, although they, too, were aware of the consequences. Bentley reported in 1900 that the village schools dependent upon Wathen could be given only "the minimum of superintendence," namely visitation twice a year,[5] a practice which became Wathen policy.[6]

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[1]ABMU Annual Reports for 1890 and 1892, B.M.M., May 1891, p. 318; July 1893, p. 340.

[2]ABMU Annual Reports for 1897 and 1900, B.M.M., July 1898, pp. 427-430; July 1901, p. 412; December 1899, p. 610.

[3]Dr. W.H. Leslie, ABMU Annual Report for 1897, B.M.M., July 1898, p. 441.

[4]ABMU Annual Report for 1899, B.M.M., July 1900, p. 425; Annual Reports of the ABMU for 1904, 1905 and 1907, respectively pp. 309, 348, and 167.

[5]BMS Annual Reports for 1900 and 1901, M.H., May 1901, pp. 253-255 and May 1902, p. 232.

[6]Annual Reports of the BMS Committee for 1906 and 1908, respectively pp. 51 and 52. By 1906 Wathen had 125 out-schools spread over an

While on one hand the missionaries continued to call for more thorough inspection of out-schools,[1] swayed by the prospect of larger numbers of converts, the BMS and ABMU continued to expand the number of village schools in relation to the number of missionaries. This breakdown in inspection of village schools coincided with the shift in African attitudes from curiosity to wholesale enthusiasm. The first comments on rising African demands for village schools in the Lower Congo came at the same time as the first missionary expressions of concern over supervision---just before the turn of the century. The same dual phenomena was also typical of Upper Congo Group I mission stations. With the tremendous expansion of out-schools in response to African demands between 1903-1905 at Yakusu, BMS missionaries there became increasingly concerned with instituting "a system of regular visitation" in order "to avoid difficulties that can easily become embarassing for ourselves and our work."[2] But such statements remained pious hopes for the great number and geographical dispersal of village schools and the perennial shortage of missionary staff meant that Yakusu station out-schools were visited but once a year by 1908 and even then the missionaries complained that such supervision could be done only at the expense of central station activities.[3] Even

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area of 3,000 square miles which required four full months to visit. See, M.H., February 1907, p. 59.

[1]Annual Reports of the ABMU for 1904 and 1905, respectively pp. 309 and 348; B.M.M. February 1910, pp. 118-119.

[2]Smith, Yakusu, p. 232; Grenfell from Yakusu area to Thomas Lewis, X/1/05 quoted in Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, p. 538.

[3]Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1908, p. 55.

this annual inspection was cursory. For example, Stapleton spoke of "a flying visit" in 1904 to several score village schools all within one month.[1] Such hurried inspection trips were all that other Upper River BMS stations could do.[2]

Other societies, whose methods called for frequent visitation of the field, had no schools to inspect. For example, CMA and GEM missionaries itinerated ceaselessly,[3] but many of their out-posts had n no schools and their evangelists were instructed to cover the area preaching rather than staying put and conducting village schools. Scheutist missionaries at Umangi managed to stay seven to ten days at a time in their catechumenats, but as late as 1906 there were only twenty such secondary posts and most had no schools.[4] Indicative of this emphasis upon religious duties and lack of schools is the description by a SHF on itineration in the Béni region in 1907:

> Half the time we are traveling. We visit the villages of the catechumenes in a parish nineteen days long walking. Enroute, one usually walks from early morning until noon or one o'clock, and then pitches tent. If it is in a village, one holds sick-call; if there are

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[1]Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1904, p. 104.

[2]William Forfeitt at Bopoto was only able to visit part of their out-schools in 1904 and described even this as "a hurried visit." See, Annual Report of the BMS Committee for 1904, pp. 100-101.

[3]Maduda station of the CMA reported in 1901 (Annual Report for 1901, p. 104) that one of the station missionaries spent one-third of the year visiting out-posts and doing direct preaching, while in 1905 missionaries out of Lolo station itinerated for 140 days of the year and the missionary at Yema spent half the year in itineration (Annual Report for 1905, p. 108). Yet the CMA had little success with its out-schools, frequently closing them because of the alleged incompetence or unfaithfulness of the African evangelists.

[4]Father Ar. Renier, undated, from Umangi, Missions en Chine et au Congo, décembre 1906, p. 283.

> catechumenes, one gives catechism and the next day one begins the march again. At certain places where there is a respectable number of catechumens, one stays several days or places a catechist there to live.[1]

Or if they did have schools, they spent their time preparing candidates for baptism, giving oral religious instruction or conducting religious services, settling disputes and even baptizing, but not on school supervision or pupil recruitment.[2] A few Group I societies did, however, effectively use what little time they had in the field for organized inspection and recruitment. Bentley at Wathen pioneered the method of combining field supervision of African teachers with pupil recruitment for central station schools, a method later copied by BMS missionaries at Yakusu[3] and others in the Lower Congo.

The Jesuit efforts in inspection[4] were far more frequent than their Baptist neighbors, but improvement in educational quality was

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[1]Father Farinelle at Kakondjo, XI/7/07, Regne du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, mai 1908, p. 71.

[2]See, for example, Bedinger, p. 147; Jeanroy, Vingt-cinqu Ans..., p. 135; Dye, pp. 102-103; Smith, Yakusu, p. 232; D. Christy Davies at Yalemba, M.H., April 1908, p. 109; Missions belges, juin 1899, p. 247; Missions en Chine et au Congo, décembre 1906, p. 283; Brother Gillet in 1896 quoted in Denis, pp. 63-64; Laveille, pp. 195-197.

[3]Smith at Yakusu described one of his itineration trips as:

> "At the close [of a magic lantern show and religious talk] I tell them I cannot hope to come very often to their villages because we have so much to do at Yakusu; but we are keen on teaching their boys and girls to learn to read for themselves...So my final word was, 'Send us some boys that they may learn of us at Yakusu, and later come back to teach you themselves'." Smith, Yakusu, pp. 90-91.

[4]Pierpont, p. 46; Butaye, IV/5/99, Missions belges, juin 1899, p. 247.

not the purpose of such visits. In this early period Jesuit out-post fermes-chapelles stressed agricultural production including cash crops, religion and the opening of new fermes-chapelles units further and further afield.

Teaching Methods

African attitudes and mission goals and actions combined in another way to affect the nature of educational development. The lack of trained African teachers and European personnel to supervise them, the shortage of textbooks and school facilities together with the African facility for memorization rather than analysis and his observed short attention span further reduced quality. Because of the interaction of these factors teaching methods became limited to rote repetition and memorization and learning, thus, was problematical in most cases.

First of all, mission overexpansion of education in response to rising African interest in school coupled with their inability to provide trained and educated teachers meant class sizes were large, frequently over a hundred at both central station and village schools with but one or two catechists or missionary teachers.[1] It was not particularly unusual for a station school to have over 300 pupils with but one or two resident missionaries.[2] The large size of classes

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[1]Roelens, Missions d'Afrique des PB, janvier 1899, p. 6; septembre 1900, p. 260; Missions des PB, novembre 1900, p. 344; Bentley, W. Holman Bentley, p. 372; Kassai Herald, October 1903, pp. 45-46.

[2]Kassai Herald, October 1903, pp. 45-46; Gaspar, pp. 21-22.

and the ill-trained, ill-educated teachers meant that classroom teaching had to rely upon mechanical means of instruction---rote repetition and drill. Most missionary letters describe classroom procedure as involving mass oral recitation and extensive use of the monitorial method.[1] A description of a Jesuit school at Kisantu is typical:

> I am responsible for a class of young boys and girls who come from the neighboring villages to school at Kisantu. I have five sections and in each of them there is a monitor who indicates on the blackboard the reading of the letters to be pronounced. The children in each section cry at the top of their voices in reading the different letters and this bedlam disturbs none.[2]

These "primitive methods of education"[3] were due not only to the lack of preparation of the teachers and the large size of classes, but also to the lack of textbooks and the paucity of school facilities. The WF station primary school at Baudouinville, one of the most advanced, is described in 1906 as having "no benches or desks. The children all sit on grass mats and the school mistress has only a small tabouret of the same material."[4] The situation in the Lower Congo was little different as late as 1906, as is evident from a description of the central station primary school at Sanda:

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[1]See, for example, descriptions in Miss., June 1906, p. 253; Kassai Herald, October 1903, p. 46; Brielman from Sanda, XII/28/06, Missions belges, mars 1907, p. 102; Crawford at Luanza, IX/1/95, E.S., February 1896, p. 46.

[2]Sister Maria de Jésus, IX/29/03, Missions belges, décembre 1903, p. 441.

[3]Kassai Herald, October 1903, p. 46.

[4]Missions des PB, juillet 1906, p. 225.

> A word about our classrooms. Their arrangement is not exactly that of our schools in Belgium. Each class there has its own room. Here in the same room are reunited several grades. That is to say each bench is occupied by a grade. There a different book is read without disturbing the others on different benches. There would hardly be a way of installing them otherwise for fulfilling the functions of head primary teacher requires going from bench to bench. Supervision would also not be efficient. If pupils in Belgium like to raise a bit of a disturbance, I will let you guess what it must be like here.[1]

Expansion of education was obviously too rapid for either adequate preparation of teachers, village supervision or provision of educational materials and facilities. But the purpose of educational expansion was not quality instruction, but "to occupy the field," to prevent rival religious ideologies from establishing themselves, and to take advantage for religious purposes of the rising interest in education on the part of the Africans.

This religious purpose is clearly seen in the selection of African teachers. The choice at most mission stations was more an attempt to reinforce religious orthodoxy than to provide for ~~the~~ competent teaching of secular subjects. Teachers were selected on the basis of their solid conversion and most missions sent out only Christians.[2]

These religious goals were reinforced by the nature of African character and talents at that initial period of cultural contact. The one character phenomena of African children that all missionary teachers remarked upon was their fantastic memories and imitative talents, far more developed, missionaries observed, than those of

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[1]Brielman at Sanda, XII/28/06, Missions belges, mars 1907, p. 103.

[2]Yakusu was an exception. See, M.H., December 1904, p. 592.

European or American children with whom they had had experience.[1] Another educational characteristic of the African was his difficulty in exerting sustained effort particularly in school.[2] Their attention span was limited so that the missionaries held school on the average only one to three hours daily. Some societies, particularly those who worked with adults, complained that it was necessary to repeat lessons over and over before comprehension.[3]

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[1]WF Auguste Van Acker, undated, and Roelens, undated, Missions des PB, juillet 1903, p. 203 and décembre 1907, p. 356; Mrs. Ruskin at Bongandanga quoted in Guiness, These Thirty Years, p. 49; Bedinger, p. 61; Miss., June 1901, p. 278; March 1897, p. 104; Missions belges, Fathers Joseph Prévers, mai 1901, p. 178; de Vos, novembre 1901, p. 411; décembre 1901, p. 471; Butaye, XI/17/01, février 1902, p. 59; Goossens, X/16/03, from Kisantu, février 1904, p. 68; Sadin to Provincial, I/6/07, mars 1907, p. 105; G. Van Tilborg at Kisantu, février 1906, p. 78; Cus, undated, mars 1905, p. 103; Van Tilborg at Ndembo, octobre 1906, p. 378; Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, Trappist F. Berchmans to his sister from Bamania, XII/24/98, and Jesuit Father Hanquet, novembre 1901, p. 270; Father Auguste Declercq, IV/7/94, from Luluabourg and DeCleene, "La Colonie scolaire de Boma," Missions en Chine et au Congo, novembre 1894, p. 541 and juillet 1898, p. 96; Smith, Yakusu, p. xv; Borgerhof, Renaissance d'Occident, p. 53.

[2]WF J. M. Josset from Kibanga quoted in Alexis, La Barbarie Africaine, p. 138; Missions belges, Father Butaye, XI/17/01, février 1902, p. 60; Sister Superior of Kimwenza, VII/10/01, novembre 1901, p. 419; Brielman, XII/28/06, from Sanda, mars 1907, p. 102; Scheutist Father Alfred Corman to T.R.F. Superior, III/30/05, from Kangu, Missions en Chine et au Congo, juillet 1905, pp. 149-150; Rev. Robert Glennie at Bolobo to Baynes, V/23/91, M.H., October 1891, p. 397; Roelens Notre Vieux Congo, II, pp. 170-171. In this work Roelens remarks that besides an excellent memory, very good intelligence, but little reasoning faculty, the African was intellectually lazy. "He is happy to notice what he sees, hears and feels without looking for an explanation." In addition the African couldn't take competition and rivalry in school work, nor long sessions of class and study. The WF, therefore, cut them frequently with periods of recreation and manual work.

[3]Father M. Guillemé, May 1887, from Kibanga, quoted in Alexis, La Barbarie Africaine, p. 144; Father Billiau, Superior of Redemptorists from Matadi, V/20/99, Mouvement Antiesclavagiste, septembre 1899, p. 139; MHF Theodore Van der Linden, Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo, août 1906, p. 244.

The result of the combination of mission goals and African character was lack of any real learning. While the missionaries were pleased at the rapidity with which the catechism and prayers were learned and the short time in which pupils appeared to learn to read, this memory phenomena presented a serious educational problem, still present in developing countries. As one veteran missionary wrote from the Upper Congo: "Their memories are phenomenal, and in a short time they know every letter from first to last, and last back to first, but strange to say they could not tell one from another."[1] This phenomena is reported from all areas of the Congo.[2] A Jesuit missionary related how the African went about responding from memory. At the end of three or four weeks children in the class knew the alphabet and "read" a chart of monosyllables representing at least two hundred different sounds:

> Indicate to them a word chosen at random on the chart and they will hesitate a moment not in order to read the letters in front of them, but to count the order of the row and to see if, in this row, the word that you have indicated to them comes in second, third, or fourth place. An auditory memory will do the rest. Rarely will they make a mistake in the response drawn from memory. However, if you show them this same word written elsewhere they will not know it and will often have difficulty in articulating the sound...This remark is equally true for the pupils in the higher classes...even though their reading material is more voluminous.[3]

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[1]Dye, p. 71.

[2]A Redemptorist missionary at Tumba wrote: "The black generally has a great deal of memory skill, but so little discernment! Quite easily he remembers the names of the letters in their alphabetic order. But it is quite another thing when one later shows them separately to him or in reverse order; the 'a' he calls 'z' and vice versa." See, Father Veys at Tumba to Rector at Tournai, La Voix de Redempteur, janvier 1901, p. 26.

[3]Brielman, XII/28/06, from Sanda, Missions belges, mars 1907, p. 102.

Even Congolese studying in England showed the same type of learning habits. The Examiner in Geography and History, who tested Congolese pupils in 1895 at the Colvyn Bay Congo Training Institute, remarked that "many of the answers, however, leave the impression that the subject, even when committed to memory, has not been thoroughly understood, and that consequently the knowledge is useless."[1] That is, the African showed more of a faculty for remembering a text verbatim, without understanding it, than for true comprehension. Missionaries frequently complained that the African would not reason out problems nor think for himself.[2]

The only way to attempt to overcome this problem was to use variety in one's instruction routine. But with more and more schools being taught by poorly-prepared African teachers who themselves had probably learned principally by memorization, it was exceedingly difficult to overcome this problem.

It should be apparent that African attitudes and environment played a key role in determining the nature and direction of educational development.

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[1]Hughes (ed.), Annual Report for 1894/95, p. 23.

[2]See, for example, G.C.R., 1909, p. 30 and passim; Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, II, pp. 170-171; Goossens, X/16/03, Missions belges, février 1904, p. 68.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

The course of educational development in Belgian Africa in the first thirty years of modern, sustained cultural contact[1] resulted from the interaction of five variables; mission goals, methods and social policies, African attitudes and physical environmental difficulties, each of which has been discussed in the preceding chapters. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to analyze the relative weight and influence of these five factors on the nature and course of educational growth in the Congo.

Before examining the process of educational development, it is necessary to dispel three misconceptions so much a part of current literature on Belgian Africa; namely, underrating the importance of the initial period, ignoring the heterogeneous nature of mission educational efforts, and overlooking the crucial role of mission goals.

Importance of Early Period

Most of the studies concerning African education have centered upon the post World War I and especially the post World War II eras.

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[1] The word "sustained" is used to differentiate between the early Christian missionaries who came in the 16th to early 19th centuries but left without leaving behind much influence and the mission groups who arrived beginning in the 1870's whose influence continues to the present. See Footnote 1, p. 1. It should also be noted that the modern "contact" was neither massive nor general, but involved in the period under study both a small number of westerners and a small percentage of the African population.

The early pioneer periods tend to be dismissed on the basis that activity was generally unplanned and tangible educational results negligible. This ignoring of the early period (pre-World War I) in African education means its influence has been vastly underrated.

While education quantitatively was small in this early period in the Congo, the structure of educational organization, the pattern of educational growth, and the formulation of workable policy were all consciously planned. It was not a period of haphazard experiment without goals or policy direction, but rather a very deliberate attempt to put into effect very precise goals. The fact that these goals, predominantly religious, were not completely achieved in the manner the missionaries hoped in no way detracts from the importance of institution building and the social functions of education which resulted as by-products. In November 1908, when the Belgian Parliament took over governmental responsibility for what had been their monarch's personal domain, the Congo Independent State, the new colonial government inherited a "school system" which had functioned for nearly thirty years under the direction of the various missionary orders. Primitive as its standards and achievements may have been in the intellectual and quantifiable realm, the structure of the educational system, its goals and the direction of its development were clear.

Heterogeneous Nature of Mission Education

Unfortunately, it has been common practice in secondary sources to speak of "missions" as though they represented a homogeneous group with common methods and social policies and similar educational effort. Such a view obliterates one of the most important elements in understanding the process of educational development in Belgian Africa and probably in

most other countries of Tropical Africa. For the educational effort of the eighteen mission societies serving the Congo by 1908 was profoundly different. Measured on the basis of enrollment, textbook production, curricula and duration of schooling available these societies can be typed into a minimum of three clearly-defined groups. In addition an analysis of their educational methods and organization in relation to their social policies shows profound and important variations. What some mission societies did not do in education was as potentially important politically and economically as what others did. That is, Group II and III mission societies, whose educational effort was least, represented the great majority of educational agents. While it is not the subject of this study, one would find that the political influence on governmental colonial policy of many Group II and III mission orders was greater than that of Group I societies. Thus, for many reasons it is a mistake to view early Christian missions as a homogeneous unit.

The Influence of Mission Goals

Mission goals in the Congo were narrowly religious. While the late 19th century was a time of social consciousness within both Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe and America, such concepts were not exported with missionaries to central Africa. Despite the spread of the "social gospel" and "social action" view of Christian responsibility in Europe and America, the vast majority of missionaries who went to the Congo were far more concerned with souls than social conditions. While in their home countries a wide literature already existed on the social functions of the school, most missionaries in the Congo were either unaware of it or chose to ignore such information. They preferred to conceive of the role of the school in the Congo as

being able to serve solely religious ends. Some mission societies, however, evaluated schools more favorably as an evangelical agency and therefore undertook to establish more schools.

Indeed, the major explanation of the variation in the extent of educational effort was the role assigned education as a method of achieving these religious goals. Schools were not an activity undertaken for their unique worth, but simply a means of proselytization. Schools had value only insofar as they contributed to the task of obtaining converts and spreading the gospel. If the provision of education was solely a means, it is important to understand the ends it was to achieve. If there had been no tie between religious proselytization and education, there would have been few, if any, mission schools in the Congo. Thus, an understanding of mission goals is crucial to understanding the extent of educational effort in Belgian Africa.

The Process of Educational Development

We have already said that five phenomena influenced the early course of educational development in Belgian Africa; mission goals, methods and social policies and African attitudes and physical environmental factors. Now is a good time to summarize their influence on a number of crucial areas of educational development.

1. Educational Structure

The structural pattern of a three stage school system was accepted by most mission orders (e.g. Groups I and II) by 1908 and operated well in school districts served by Group I missions. The three stages---village school, central station primary school and advanced training

school in ascending order of difficulty---were seen as part of a hierarchical and interdependent system. The hub of the system was the central station staffed by resident missionaries. Here the elite cadre, the catechist-evangelist, was prepared in the primary school under the watchful eye of the missionary, later to go forth to the field to spread the religious message to the villages. The better pupils in the village schools, established by these elite cadre, would in their turn be selected to attend the station primary school. The better pupils at the station primary schools would become the highest elite by being selected to attend the society's training school, usually established at the largest and most important central station.

Such training schools, established by 1908 by all Group I and Group II societies, were the embryo of secondary education. While only the WF in the east actually introduced what could be called secondary education before annexation, later the central training schools of the Baptists at Kimpese[1] and the Jesuits at Kisantu joined the WF Lower and Higher seminaries at Mpala and Baudouinville in becoming the leading secondary and higher educational institutions in the Congo.[2]

While this was the most successful educational structure and that which would become typical in the Belgian Congo, there were also two

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[1]The SMS would in the 1930's join the Baptists in sponsoring Kimpese.

[2]Kisantu was the nucleus for the development of Catholic secular higher education. That phase of the program would later be transferred to Kimwenza near Leopoldville as Lovanium University in the 1950's.

other patterns of mission development in this early period which were not successful educationally because they failed to establish educational institutions. The huge regulated Christian villages, the trademark of most Group II and some Group III Catholic missions, in most cases simply did not open schools or, if they did later because of nearby Protestant competition, they never considered them of much importance to their central goal of creating a Catholic nation and therefore they were neglected. Few of these Group II and III Catholic orders had training schools. Although they frequently referred to their central station primary schools as special écoles de catechistes, few of these went beyond the ABC level partly because they were not the academic apex of a hierarchical system of village and station schools and partly because these societies maintained little village work. Central attention was placed instead upon drawing large groups of adults and children together to reside under the direct supervision of the mission politically and religiously and to provide a source of cheap labor for mission construction and food production. The third pattern, that of ceaseless itineration by the missionaries, where they spoke to huge crowds in villages or army of workers' camps, also did not contribute to institution building. Moving from place to place the missionary could hardly build and indeed was primarily interested only in conveying the oral religious message.

The majority of the 46,000 pupils attending mission schools in 1908 was in village schools. These village schools were little more than at the ABC level, the pupils attending irregularly and usually remaining but several months. That is, educational structure then as now was heavily weighted to the very lowest primary grades, enrollments

in upper primary grades---such as central station primary schools or training schools---was a very small percentage of total enrollment.

The reasons for this skewed educational structure are obvious. Educational growth did not take place due to expansion of missionary staff. Many societies, such as the ABMU, had the same number of missionaries in 1908 as they had twenty years earlier. Rather the missionary goals of reaching as many pagans as possible and the new African enthusiasm for literacy combined to determine educational structure. The missionaries were most interested in mass primary education because it provided religious contact with a large number of people. The African quickly saw the economic value of basic literacy, whose provision was virtually a monopoly of the missions. To achieve his new economic goals the Congolese had to pass through the mission school. There is also a financial reason. Most missions complained of lack of funds. Obviously village schools were cheaper to run than central station schools for they required less facilities, no European personnel and few school materials because the pupils were little more than on the alphabet. Yet they met the goals of religious contact and response to African educational demands.

Secondary education was unnecessary even for the new religious elite. While a modified English boarding school prototype was introduced successfully at Wathen, it was not widely copied. This was because of the fear of unwanted political and character results, such as were attributed to the English-type secondary schools introduced in India. Instead educational structure was to involve two parts; primary education or basic literacy for the masses followed by more

advanced training for religious assistants. But these African religious assistants---catechists and evangelists---were not to be a literary ministry conversant with the arts and ancient literature and languages, but hard-working, pious, simple men who could at most read, write and calculate, but who above all were religiously orthodox and zealous.

2. Curricula

At its worst in Congo schools curricula involved little more than the alphabet. The majority of central station primary schools, however, managed to teach reading and writing to which a few added arithmetic, geography and French for the brighter pupils.

But the most important point to note is that, while the structure and organization of educational institutions in the Congo was a transfer of similar institutional types in the West, their content and purpose were quite different. The major component of the curriculum was religion. While subjects were labelled reading and writing, the content was almost exclusively religious. The extent of secular subjects, including the three R's, was dependent upon the role education was seen as playing in affecting religious goals. For example, the SMS felt the Bible could not be properly understood and explained unless their evangelists had exposure to a modicum of general secular learning. In other cases the addition of secular subjects was used to attract Africans to hear the religious message taking advantage of the new enthusiasm for education.

Because the purpose of the schools was solely to further religious goals, the curriculum was heavily literary-oriented. The heavy emphasis upon reading as a subject, especially as promoted by the

Protestant societies, was for the purpose of establishing direct contact with the Word of God. Even what vocational education there was resulted predominately from the economic necessities associated with establishing, maintaining and expanding religious work, not as a form of contributing to general economic development of the country.

This religious emphasis in curriculum was reinforced in a number of ways. It is most clearly seen in the content of textbook materials available. All were a vehicle of religious propagation, even the few books on learning French contained words and sentences of religious significance and it is not unlikely that even arithmetic became a vehicle of religious ideas. This overwhelming religious content of reading matter was further reinforced by the mission monopoly on printed media and by their language policy. Since the language policy followed universally by the mission orders was to use an African language, an examination of the educational materials available in Congo languages rather exhausts the possibilities of acquiring new ideas by an African literate through mission schools.

It is obvious, thus, these religiously-motivated preoccupations with reading coincided with African demands for literacy training for its economic advantages. The main impact of these African reactions fell upon the Catholic missions. With no religious tenet requiring literacy, they nonetheless were forced in "school districts" also served by Protestant missions to provide such literacy training, if they wished to attract prospective African converts and thus successfully compete religiously with their Protestant neighbors. Indeed, the Papal policy of tailgating the Protestants served

indirectly to encourage educational effort, where it would not otherwise have been present.

3. The Concept of "Adaptation"

Mission goals and social policies laid the basis for what would later be referred to as "adaptation," a central concept then and now in African education. Adaptation did not begin as a means of preserving indigenous culture, but was the "adaptation" of western education to mission goals in central Africa. This is seen in at least four aspects of mission policy; economic policy, the conception of an elite, rural orientation of schools and the necessity of coping with the food problem.

Mission economic and social policy was to keep the African in his natal environment and to change only his moral values. Even vocational education was for religious uses not preparation for participation in wage employment in the modern economic sector. Indeed, mission stations were purposely placed in rural areas so as to reach and keep the African in his own agricultural socio-economic setting. The point was to help the African work harder within his own social and economic environment rather than to become more "modern" by becoming part of the western economy and society of the new "sin-filled"towns or urban centers. Thus, curriculum which stressed remaining and better performing within the traditional, rural environment was encouraged for religious reasons by the missions. After all to change the moral habits of the European officials and traders had already been unsuccessful in Europe so that the best procedure was to attempt to keep the African from imitating such behavior patterns, indeed, from becoming aware of their existence.

In addition, the missionaries were fearful of the political and moral results of any more advanced or European-type secondary education. Their conception of an elite reinforced the rural-oriented non-modern type education. The theory of "devolution" in education, that is, the higher training of a small elite who in turn would pass their new learning down into the general populace, was modified in the Congo only in one manner by the Protestants. Whereas in Asia, particularly India, this elite had received a literary-intellectual type education similar to European academic secondary schools, in the Congo it was to receive a theological-artisanal type education. But nonetheless the majority of Protestant missionaries held to the idea of "devolution"---only the type of elite was to be changed, not the idea of an elite discarded. While it was thought literary-intellectual education had led in India especially to rejection of Christianity (and other religions as well) and unwanted character traits such as pride, arrogance, and a disdain for manual work, theological-artisanal education, it was hoped, would produce a lasting Christian conversion, humility and a pride in the dignity of labor and no further ambitions or wants. This different type elite would in turn pass this knowledge and attitude downward into the population.

Finally, providing "agricultural education" as part of the curriculum was not meant to improve agricultural techniques, but was aimed at furthering religious goals. Such "agricultural education" meant in practice agricultural labor in the vegetable gardens and fields of the mission station. Production of food was a necessity in most regions where subsistence economies could not provide for the influx of Europeans and the large numbers of freed slaves gathered on

these stations. Therefore, if there were to be large mission stations with orphanages or boarding schools, agricultural production became a necessity. Later agricultural labor and other forms of "industrial training" were justified on the basis that they improved character by teaching habits of regular work, a trait necessary to fulfilling the Christian ideal as brought by the missionaries to the Congo, but also necessary to guarantee a regular supply of food. But such habits of regularity were not intended by the overwhelming number of mission society's as preparation for entering wage employment in the new western economic sector. These habits of hard work gained through agricultural labor on mission stations were meant solely to support and to backstop the religious effort.

By keeping the African within his own rural socio-economic environment and away from the pernicious influence of more worldly-minded Europeans, the missionaries felt they had a better chance to affect moral change. The practical, vocational side of curriculum and educational policy was not meant to be adaptative to the local environment as a means of preserving the culture, but as a means of more effectively coordinating education with mission religious goals.

4. Quality vs. Quantity

Because of mounting African demands for schools and because the missionaries were unable to resist such happy prospects of expanding religious influence, education in the Congo became more and more extensive quantitatively and less and less efficient qualitatively. Responsibility for this rejection of quality in favor of quantity was as much the result of African pressures as it was of missionary zeal.

Although the final choice as to educational action was up to the missionaries, the latter could not achieve their religious goals unless the African made the choice of conversion.

The immediate effects on education were numerous. First, from the missionary viewpoint, there were religious advantages to be gained from this new African enthusiasm for education. Here was an opportunity to expand their religious contacts farther and farther afield and more intensively without many public relations problems. They were delighted that literacy training gave them an opportunity to present religion. Most mission stations, particularly Protestant ones, in their eagerness to take religious advantage of the mounting African interest in schools sent out any willing African Christian. The concern was not with his technical preparedness, but with his religious orthodoxy; indeed, simply to fill the requests from African villages. Not only were the African teachers sent out unprepared, but because of the continuing requests for teachers, mission stations, even those with training schools, faced a serious dilemma. They could not upgrade village teachers because the demands from the villages were so pressing and so continuous that the mission did not wish to withdraw them to come in for courses on the stations and there were not enough new recruits to send out to temporarily replace them.

Many of the mission orders who had not done so before now began giving secular education a much more important role in their evangelical plans not because they suddenly saw some intrinsic value in intellectual enlightenment, but because those missions which had schools attracted more children. The counter-reformation took the form of an increased emphasis on secular education by the Jesuits,

Redemptorists and SHF whose stations were contiguous to those of strong BMS and ABMU missions. The response of Group III mission orders was something less than efficient.

Thus, Congolese attitudes and practical problems of the African environment combined to present a formidable barrier to implementing effectively educational policies which did not take them into account. Most of all these factors affected quality. This took the form of too-rapid expansion of education in relation to teacher supply, accompanied by inadequate supervision and rote teaching methods.

Thus, African enthusiasm for education led the missions to attempt to expand education far more rapidly than they had facilities or staff to efficiently handle. The expansion occurred in the financially cheapest area---the village school. This increased the inefficiency of education, because the highest rates of daily absenteeism and of teacher unpreparedness were found in the village schools.

Educational Opportunity

The equality of educational opportunity was also influenced primarily by a congruence of mission social policies and goals and African attitudes and environment. In most developing countries access to schooling is unequally distributed in a variety of ways---by geographical location, enthnicity, class and sex to name some of the most typical.

The most prevalent inequality of educational diffusion in Belgian Africa was geographic and since tribal groups were territorially based it was a cultural or ethnic inequality as well. The educational maps show three factors quite clearly. First, the uneven distribution of

schools between the Lower and Upper Congo. Mission stations are densely concentrated in the Lower Congo, while vast areas of the interior are sparsely served. In addition there are blank areas covering vast regions of the interior where no schools at all existed, while certain other regions, such as the Kasai and Middle and Upper Congo banks, the eastern Katanga and southern Kivu are centers of mission activity. Second, development of central station primary schools followed almost exclusively lines of transportation. The missionaries moved inland by riverboat and then established their stations along the banks. Notable exceptions are stations such as Béni on the British East Africa border, which were located for political, not religious, purposes. But there are also vast regions, e.g. Lake Leopold II area and eastward, easily accessible by river which had no schools by 1908, not because the missionaries ignored them, but because State policy forbade entry to those huge parts of the Congo called the Crown Domain, reserved to royal commercial exploitation. Third, central station primary schools were located predominately in rural rather than urban areas. Of the almost 100 central mission stations in October 1908 (see Table II-I) less than ten percent were located in the larger urban areas such as Boma, Leopoldville, Matadi or Stanleyville.

These variations in educational opportunity again represent the interplay of mission social policies and goals and African attitudes and the physical nature of central Africa. Perhaps the latter was at least initially the most important element.

The availability of easy transport such as railways and waterways attracted western penetration and development. In turn the African was attracted to these western centers because of the economic

advantages to be gained. African interest in education had a great deal to do with the proximity of economic opportunity. Africans in areas removed from the railways and navigable waterways even in the Lower Congo had little contact with modern civilization and therefore little stimulation to begin schooling.

While educational interest on the part of the Congolese tended to parallel the movement of modern economic development, this did not mean that mission schools followed western enterprise. Indeed, the contrary was true. The mission choice of school location was far more dependent upon their social policies and mission rivalry. While missionaries preceded State officials and traders into the eastern Congo and Katanga and often explored waterways before State officials, the foundation of permanent mission stations in most cases followed that of State settlements and trading posts[1] in order to be assured of regular communications and pacification. But the most important point here is that mission stations, particularly those of the Protestants, were then located rurally at some distance from the actual state or trading post. This rural rather than urban location of mission central stations was deliberate. Such western settlements were felt to be centers of unChristian behavior from which the African should be shielded.

The geographical and ethnic imbalance in educational opportunity also reflected the greater educational effort of Group I missionaries

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[1]Slade, King Leopold's Congo, p. 126.

and their specific location. Four of the five Group I mission societies were located primarily in the Lower Congo. The fifth, the WF's, were isolated in the eastern Congo. Although the BMS and ABMU also had upriver stations, many of these (e.g. Monsembe, Lukolela, Tshumbiri) were weak and with little village school activity. In terms of geographic distribution of educational opportunity this meant that the huge upper Congo basin, the Kasai and the Katanga were at a decided disadvantage in relation to the Lower Congo and the eastern border region.

Besides its profound influence on mission rivalry and therefore location of schools, African attitudes also influenced educational opportunity in several other ways. The differential receptivity to education of individual ethnic groups affected educational opportunity. Some, like the Lulua and Baluba of the Kasai, quickly took to formal schooling once they saw its advantages, while others in the same area such as the Bakete and the Bakuba continually rejected all efforts to get them in school.[1] For example, the official historian of the APCM wrote: "The station at Ibanche, which had been opened to reach the Bakuba, had been almost swamped by an influx of Baluba and Bena Lulua, and for the most part the Bakuba seemed content that it should be so."[2]

Secondly, African attitudes played a significant role along with mission goals in limiting educational opportunity for girls. First,

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[1]Mrs. Snyder, X/24/93 and Mrs. Adamson, X/26/93 both at Luebo, Miss., March 1894, pp. 100, 102; Vinson, William Morrison, p. 35.

[2]Wharton, p. 78.

girls education began somewhat later than that for boys because both Protestant and Catholic missions directed their first efforts to the conversion of boys and the training of the most intelligent and religiously orthodox as evangelists and catechists. It was only after their staffs were increased and construction completed that some of the missionaries had time to give to girls. The development of education for girls was also retarded by African attitudes. Since girls represented financial assets and because they performed the jobs necessary for family subsistence, parents were particularly reluctant to allow them to spend time on the mission station. Because of these domestic chores they had far less time than their brothers.

The Relation of Educational Policy and Practice

Four general conclusions can probably be reached from the evidence analyzed so far with regard to educational development in the early period in Belgian Africa.

First, the importance of mission goals--narrowly religious--has been virtually overlooked as a crucial determinant of educational development. Despite the spread of the "social gospel" and "social action" view of Christian responsibility in Europe and America, the vast majority of missionaries who went to the Congo were far more concerned with souls than social conditions. The "civilizing task" of the Christian missionaries did not involve a transit of civilization from contemporary Europe or America, but an attempt to return to a golden age when the Christian church served as the leader of both secular and religious life. Education was not an activity undertaken for its unique worth but simply a means of proselytization. Schools

had value only insofar as they contributed to the task of obtaining converts and spreading the gospel. If there had been no tie between religious proselytization and education, there would have been few, if any, mission schools in the Congo.

Second, educational policy has been overrated as a determiner of educational development. While that level of policy which had to do with ends--Christian conversions--never changed, the policy level of means shifted continually in response to individual leadership and to the social and physical environment. While it is true that the type of educational organization and methods used was closely related to preconceived ideological conceptions of each mission society, these concepts underwent modification after experience in the Congo. Perhaps most significant here was the change in attitude toward education by many mission school districts after the turn of the century. While in the 19th century education and evangelization at least in policy stood against each other as rival claimants to missionary time and finance, by the turn of the century experience had shown many missionaries and mission supporters that they were not hostile, but complementary. By 1908 all Group I and II societies had reached the conclusion that education was a major tool in achieving religious goals. The notion that religious success required little more than direct preaching was abandoned. Schools, therefore, became considered one of the most important aids to proclamation of the Gospel and the gathering in of souls. The end in view--Christian conversions--never changed, only the role education could play in achieving it.

Policy established by home committees tended to change in response to local conditions or to be ignored as a guide to practice by

missionaries in the field because it would not work under central African conditions. That is, educational policy was as much a result of the practical limitations or environment, both social and physical, as it was of explicit ideological aims. In any case the successful implementation of whatever method was chosen depended upon individual leadership and consistent organization and planning. Educational success, as opposed to the policy decision as to the role education was to play in total activity, was far more the result of one man's leadership in the pioneer period than of the total society's policies. Over time home society policy was frequently restated to agree with practice. Thus, policy in many cases did not lead, it was led.

Third, the contribution of the African community has been vastly underrated, if not ignored, as a major determinant of the process of educational development. The surprizing shift within a generation of Congolese attitudes toward mission schools from initial indifference and hostility to curiosity and enthusiasm, particularly when they became aware of the economic value of literacy, was a crucial factor in directing the course of educational development.

Fourth, practical limitations associated with environmental factors such as the level of economic development, especially surplus food production, technical knowledge, and public health affected educational development by placing a ceiling on the possibilities for educational expansion and the maintenance of standards.

While preconceived policies and their resultant mission methods certainly played a contributory role and African environmental factors placed an absolute limit on possibilities, the crucial factors in

educational development in Belgian Africa were mission goals with their emphasis upon conversions and continual spread of the gospel combined with African attitudes toward education which quickly became expressed in mounting demands for schools. The result was a vast overexpansion of low quality schools.

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Messager de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur (Le). Published semi-monthly (after 1900, weekly) at Averbode Abbey, Sichem-les Diest, Belgium, by Premonstretensian Fathers of the Abbey of Tongerloo.

Messager du Saint-Esprit (Le). Published monthly at Lierre, Belgium, by the Holy Ghost Fathers.

Missions belges de la Compagnie de Jésus. Published monthly at Brussels by Jesuits. From 1852-1891, it was entitled Précis historique.

Missions d'Afrique des Pères blancs. Published monthly at Malines, Belgium (after 1900 at Antwerp), by the White Fathers. From 1800 to 1886 (?), it was called Missions d'Alger; from 1900-1913, it was entitled Missions des Peres Blancs.

Missions en Chine et au Congo. Published monthly at Scheut-Brussels by the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Scheutists). First issue in January 1889 was entitled Revue illustrée des Missions en Chine et au Congo; February 1889-1907, entitled as above; from 1908-1913, it was called Missions en Chine, au Congo et aux Philippines.

Mouvement antiesclavagiste. Published monthly (quarterly from 1907-1914) at Louvain first by the Belgian Antislavery Society, and after 1903 by the Oeuvres pour les missions Catholiques au Congo. From 1888-1894, the above title was used; from 1895-1902 entitled Mouvement antiesclavagiste belge; Revue Congolaise et Africaine. In 1903 it became the Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo.

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2. Protestant

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APPENDIX A

PRINTED MATERIALS IN CONGO LANGUAGES 1876-1908

The existence of printed materials has been ascertained in three ways: (1) examination of holdings in library collections at Harvard University and the Bibliothèque Africaine of the former Ministry of African Affairs, now part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 7 Place Royale, Brussels; (2) listings in published bibliographies, and (3) references in missionary letters. The most complete bibliography is Frederick Starr, A Bibliography of Congo Languages (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908). Starr attempted completeness only through 1906, although many titles from 1907 are included. The main weakness, which the author frankly admits, is the inadequate coverage of materials produced by Catholic missions. For these, see, Edouard Kervyn [Secretary General, Department of Foreign Affairs and Religion of the Congo Independent State], "Les Missions Catholiques du Congo belge," La Revue Congolaise, 1912, pp. 301-305. Kervyn's list was compiled from the publications exhibited by the Belgian Catholic missions at the Tervueren Exhibition of 1910. Kervyn's listing, however, must be used with care. For example, publications listed under the White Fathers include materials used by their colleagues in East Africa not the Congo. These two sources have been checked against various listings of printed materials in missionary journals.

Grammars and vocabularies, written from the standpoint of teaching Europeans an African language and not to serve as texts for use by native speakers, have been excluded.

TABLE A-I

PRINTED MATERIALS IN CONGO LANGUAGES
BY SCHOOL DISTRICT AND SUBJECT, 1876 - 1908

School District	Church Rules & Liturgy	French	Arithmetic	Education, Soc. Studies, Science	Catechisms
BMS	6	4	5	1*	4
ABMU (LIM)	2	1	2	0	4
FCMS	1	0	0	0	0
GEM	0	0	0	0	1
WIM	0	0	0	0	1
APCM	0	0	0	0	1
CBM	0	0	0	0	1
SMS	0	0	1	3***	0
CMA	0	0	0	0	0
Sub Total Protestant					
WF	1	0	1	1**	3
Jesuits	0	1	1	0	6
Scheutists	0	1	0	0	4
Redemptorists	0	1	0	0	0
SHF	0	0	1	0	2
Premonstr.	0	0	0	0	0
Trappists	0	0	0	0	1
HGF	0	0	0	0	0
MHF	0	0	0	0	0
Sub Total Catholic					
TOTALS	10	8	11	5	28

*Story of a Congolese youth in England
**Geography
***1 geography, 1 biology, and 1 pedagogy

Prayer Books	Bible Selections	Primers	Pious Stories & Religious Histories	Hymnals	Native Stories	Maga-zines	TOTALS
1	49	20	58	22	4	3	177
0	34	13	14	1	1	0	72
0	8	2	4	1	1	0	17
0	3	2	2	4	0	0	12
0	2	2	0	1	1	0	7
0	1	4	3	1	0	0	10
0	15	5	4	2	3	0	30
0	4	3	3	3	0	2	19
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
							344
1	0	3	3	0	0	0	13
1	1	6	1	1	1	2	21
0	0	8	4	1	0	0	18
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
3	0	1	1	0	0	0	8
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
							67
8	117	71	98	37	11	7	411

TABLE A-II

PRINTED MATERIALS IN A SINGLE CONGO LANGUAGE
BY SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1876-1908[1]

School District	Language	No. of Publications
BMS	Bobangi	55
	Kikongo	40
	Ngala	25
	Lifoto	22
	Lokele	21
	Ngombe	8
	Swahili	4
ABMU	Kikongo	43
	Ntumba	10
	Kiteke	7
	Bobangi	4
FCMS	Nkundu	17
GEM	Sanga-Tshiluba	12
SMS	Kikongo	19
WIM	Bakuba	7
APCM	Tshiluba	8
CBM	Mongo	22
	Ileku	5
WF	Swahili	12
	Kitabwa	1
Jesuits	Kikongo	21
Scheutists	Ngala	8
	Tshiluba	5
	Kiyombe	4
	Kikongo	1
Redemptorists	Kikongo	3
SHF	Swahili	8
Trappists	Nkundu	4

[1]In most cases languages with only one or two books have been excluded.

TABLE A-III

PRINTED MATERIALS IN CONGO LANGUAGES PREPARED BY CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES BY LANGUAGE AND SUBJECT, 1876-1908

Language	French	Arithmetic	Social Science, Biology, Education	Catechisms	Prayer Books	Church rules & liturgy
Kikongo	5	7	3	9	2	5
Bobangi				1	1	2
Lingala	1	1	1	1		
Nkundu				1	1	1
Swahili		2	1	5	4	1
Mongo						
Lifoto		1		1		
Lokele						1
Tshiluba				4		
Sanga-Luba				1		
Ntumba	1			1		
Bakuba				1		
Ngombe						
Kiteke						
Ileku				1		
Kiyombe	1			1		
Mpama						
Kitabwa				1		
Bakete						
TOTALS	8	11	5*	28	8	10

*Includes two geographies (WF and SMS); story of a Congolese in Europe (BMS), book on pedagogy (SMS), and book on biology (SMS).

Primers & 1st Readers	Bible Selections	Hymnals	Pious Stories & Religious Histories	Native Stories	Magazines	TOTALS
23	35	8	24	1	6	128
6	15	7	24	2	1	59
10	7	4	6	2		33
6	14	1	6	1		31
4			7			24
1	13	1	4	3		22
3	6	3	8			22
	8	3	9			21
4	1	1	3			13
2	3	4	2			12
	6		2			10
3	2	1		1		8
2	4	1	1			8
3	2		1	1		7
2	1	1				5
1			1			4
		2				2
						1
1						1
71	117	37	98	11	7	411

APPENDIX B

PRINTING PRESSES IN THE CONGO, 1908

School District	Location	Established	Remarks
BMS	Wathen	1889	Small hand press.
	San Salvador	1883	Began with small hand press, but large Edwin Wade Press established at Underhill in 1886 was moved here in 1896
	Bolobo	1895	Hannah Wade Press moved here after operating at Lukolela since 1891.
	Yakusu	1904	Small hand press
SMS	Matadi	1893	
ABMU	Palabala	c1888	No evidence that this continued until 1908
	Lukunga	c1891	ditto
	Banza Manteke	c1898	Small hand press
APCM	Luebo	1900	Small hand press. In 1904 large J. Leighton Wilson Press arrived, but not in operation until 1907.
CBM	Bongandanga	1903	Not in operation until 1905
GEM	Luanza	1905	Small hand press
FCMS	Bolenge	1907	
WF	Mpala	1899	
Jesuits	Kisantu	1901	A larger press was set up in 1907
	Wombali	1903	Small hand press
Scheutists	Nouvelle-Anvers	c1903	Small hand press
State	Boma	n.g.	

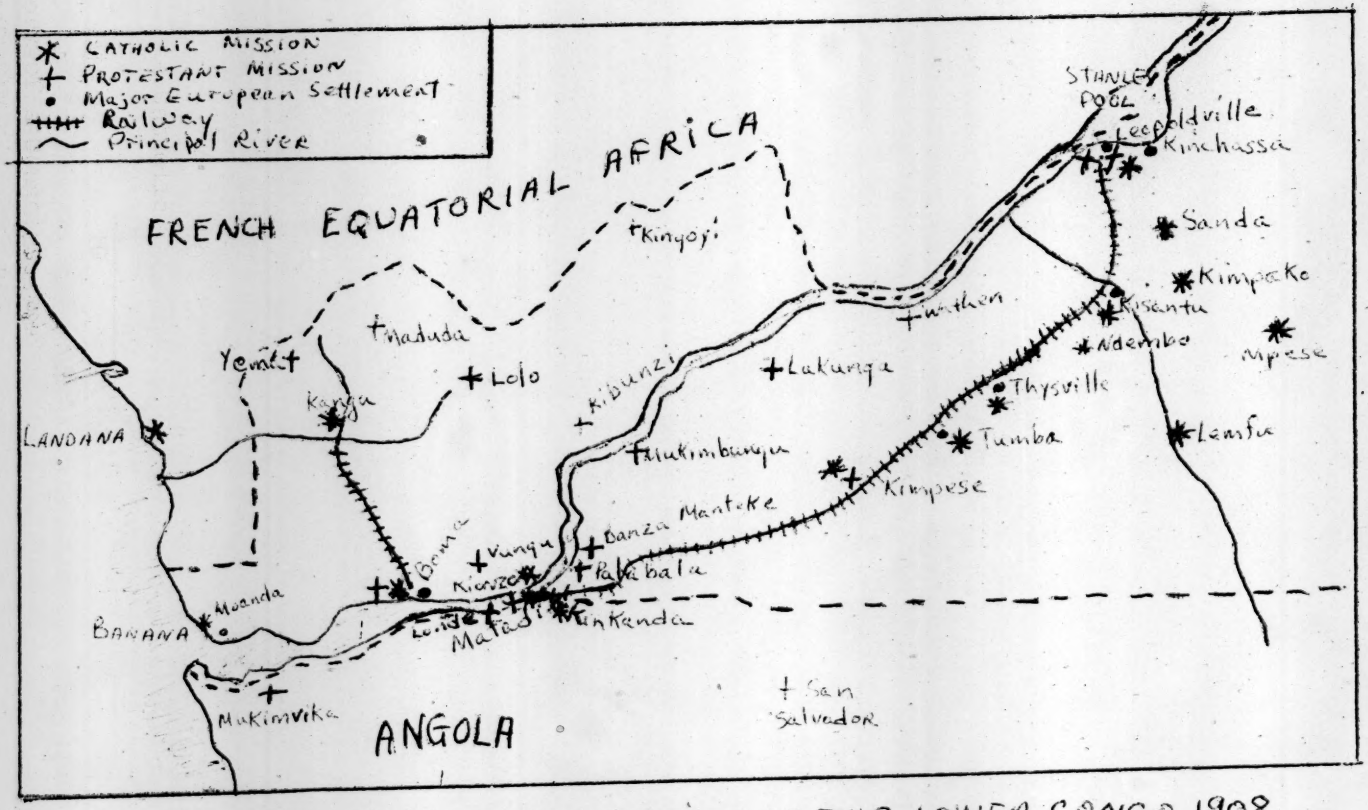
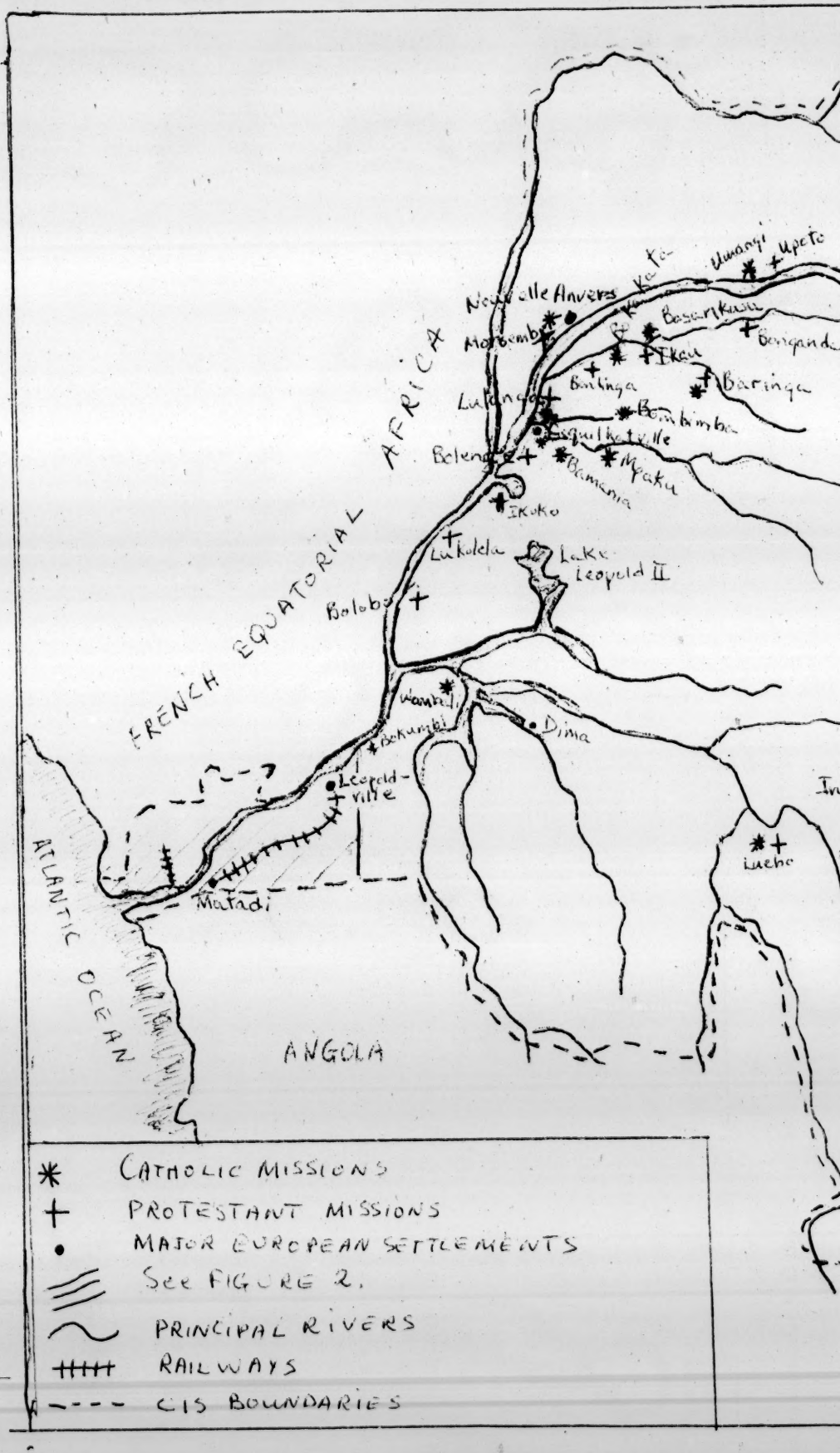
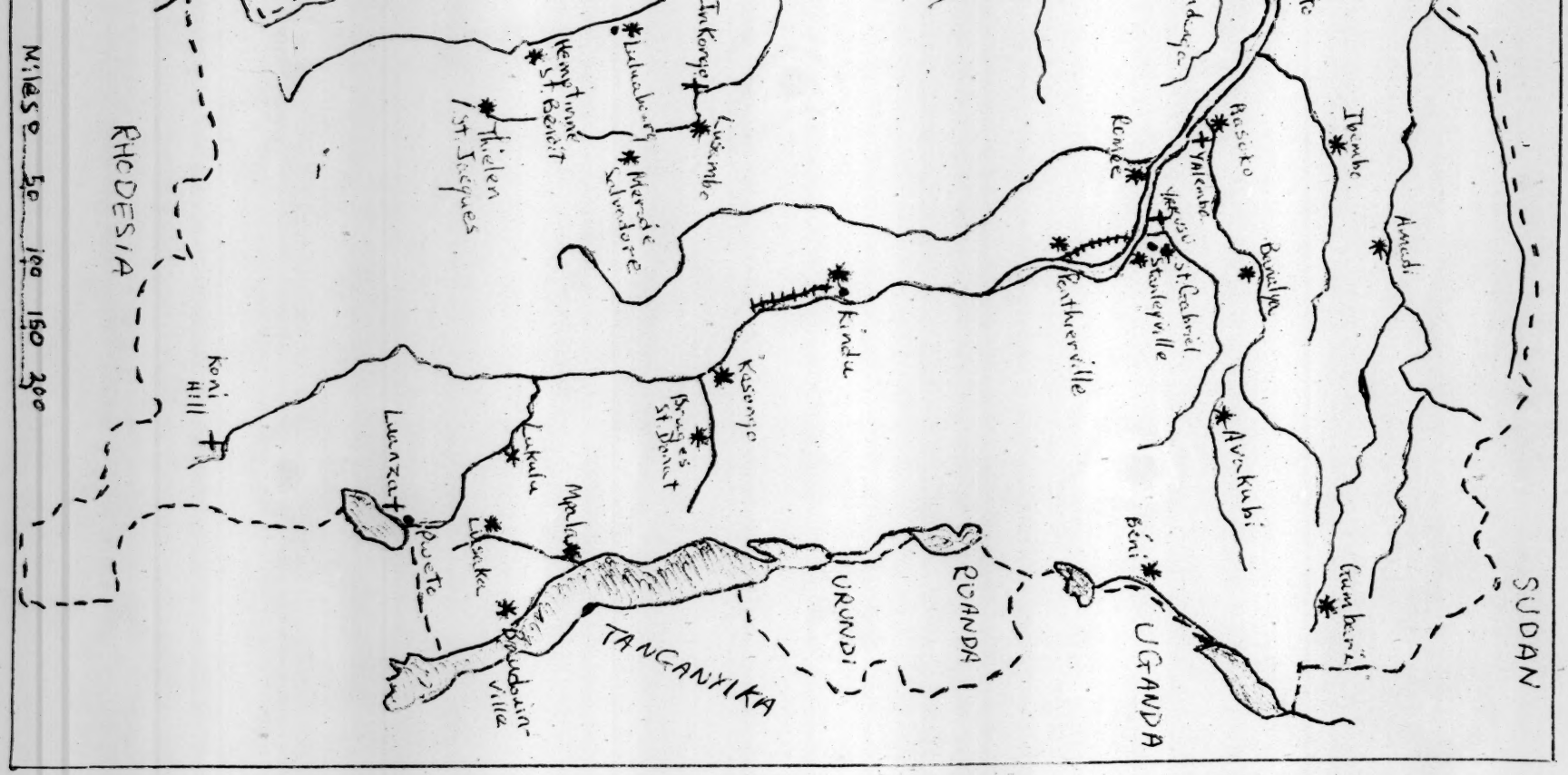


FIGURE 2. MISSION CENTRAL STATIONS IN THE LOWER CONGO, 1908


FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Nouvelle Anvers
Motombo
Lutangola
Boleng
Ikoko
Lukulela
Lake Leopold II
Bolobo
Wamba
Bokumbi
Leopold-ville
Matadi
Dima
Luebo
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGOLA
Upoto
Bosarikusu
Ikau
Boringa
Bombimba
Myaku
Bamania
CATHOLIC MISSIONS
PROTESTANT MISSIONS
MAJOR EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS
See FIGURE 2.
PRINCIPAL RIVERS
RAILWAYS
CIS BOUNDARIES


Miles 0 50 100 150 200
RHODESIA
Kolwezi
Kambove
Likasi
Elisabethville
Kipushi
Jadotville
Kamina
Kongolo
Albertville
Kindu
Kasongo
Stanleyville
Ponthierville
Bafwasende
Banalia
Basoko
Yakembe
Ibambe
Amadi
Avakubi
Bunia
Beni
Lubero
Goma
Kisenyi
Costermansville
Bukavu
Shangugu
Kabgayi
Astrida
Usumbura
Albertville
Baudouinville
Kalemie
Kabalo
Manono
Kamina
Luena
Sandoa
Dilolo
Kolwezi